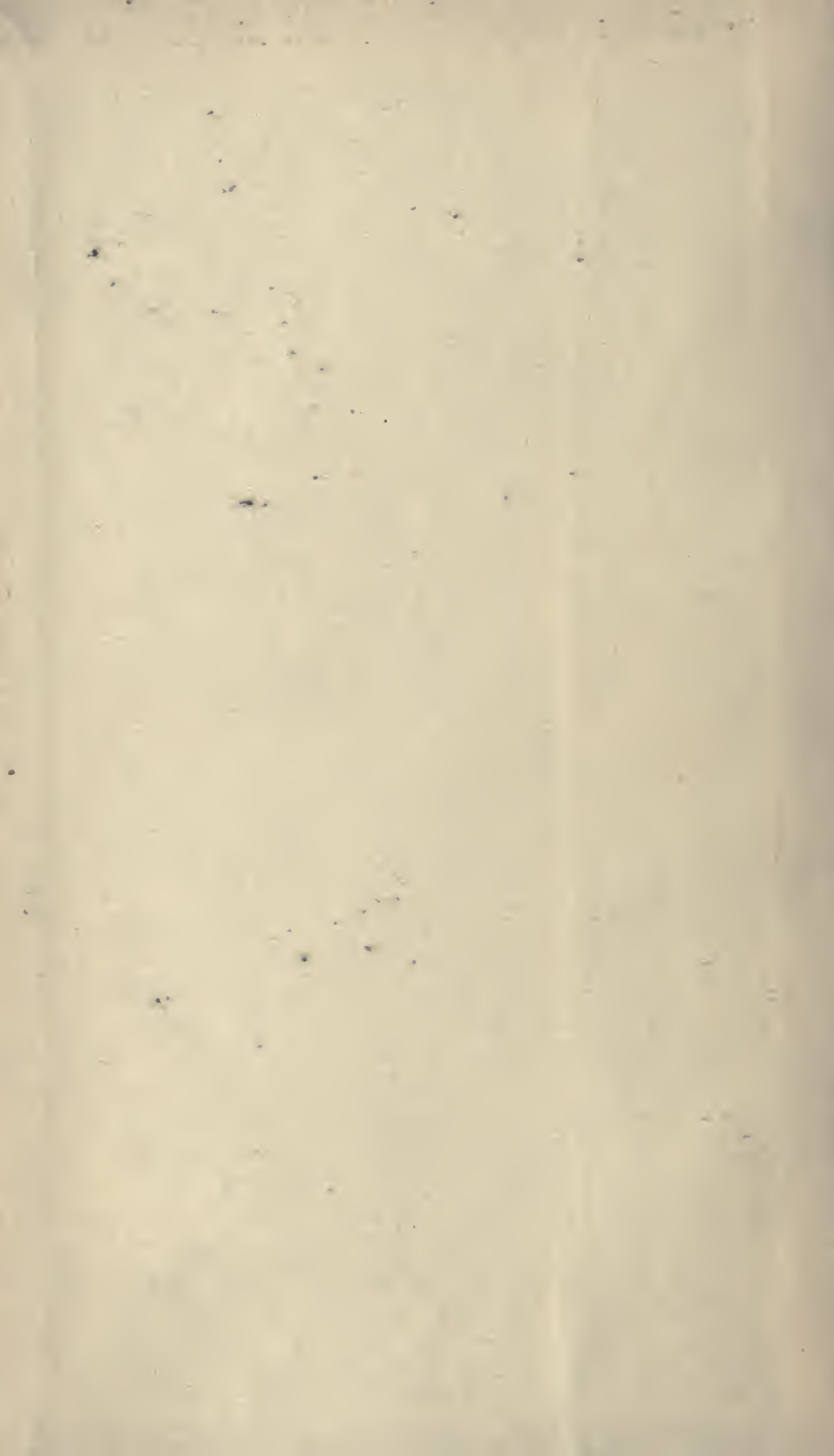
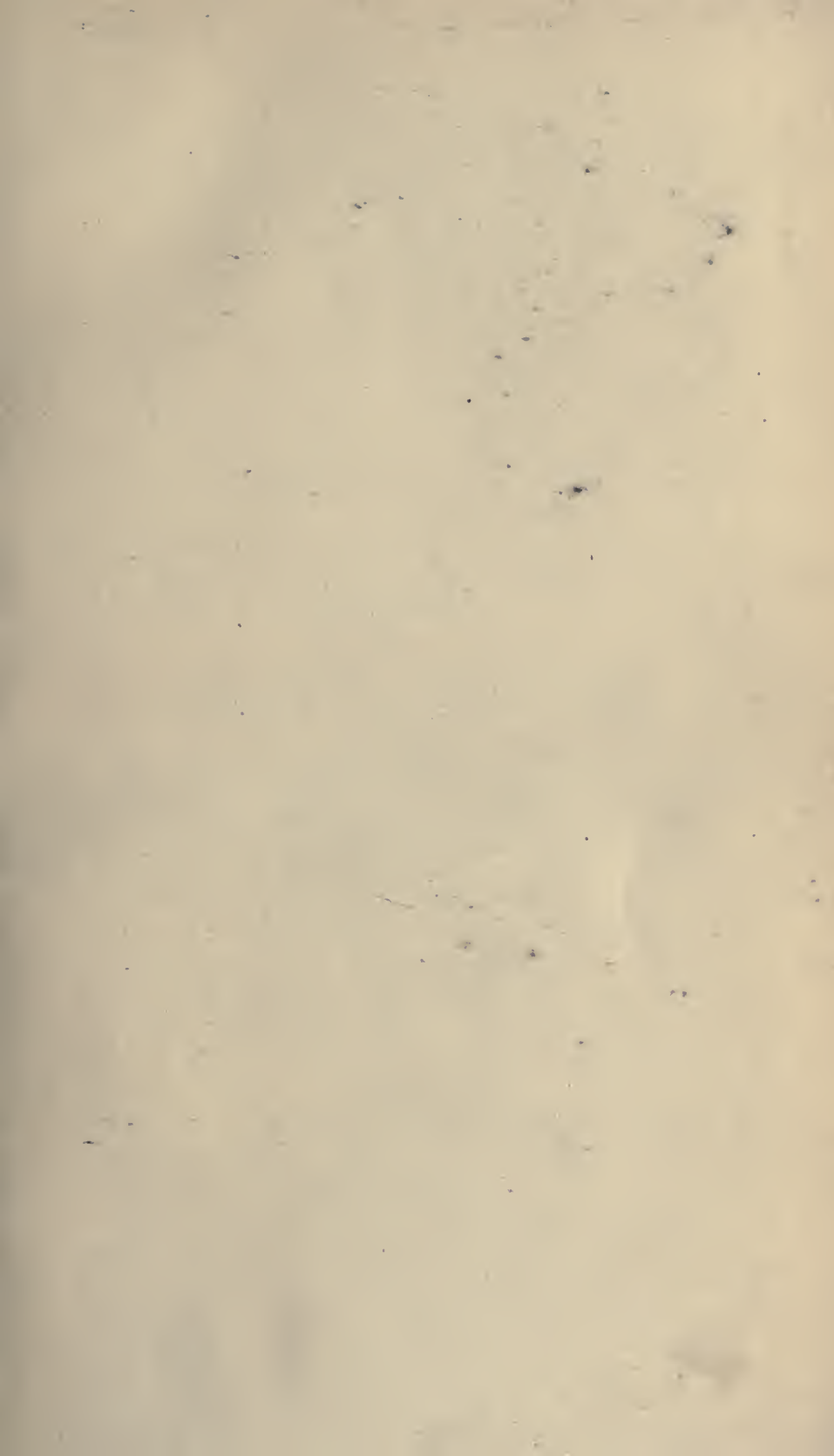


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OF
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OF

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† Honorary Governors are not Members of the Council.

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1. The use of the Library is restricted to purposes of research and reference, and under no pretence whatever must any Book, Manuscript, or Map be removed from the building.
2. The Library is open to holders of Readers' Tickets daily, as follows : Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Tuesdays and Fridays, from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. Saturdays, from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m.
The Library will be closed on Sundays, Good Friday, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Bank Holidays, and the whole of Whit-week.
3. Persons desirous of being admitted to read in the Library must apply in writing to the Librarian, specifying their profession or business, their place of abode, and the particular purpose for which they seek admission.*
4. Every such application must be made at least two clear days before admission is required, and must bear the signature and full address of a person of recognised position, whose address can be identified from the ordinary sources of reference, certifying from personal knowledge of the applicant that he or she will make proper use of the Library.
5. If such application or recommendation be unsatisfactory, the Librarian shall withhold admission and submit the case to the Council of Governors for their decision.
6. The Tickets of Admission, which are available for twelve months, are not transferable, and must be produced when required.
7. No person under eighteen years of age is admissible, except under a special order from the Council of Governors.
8. Readers may not write upon, damage, turn down the leaves, or make any mark upon any Book, Manuscript, or Map belonging to the Library ; nor may they lay the paper on which they are writing upon any Book, Manuscript, or Map.
9. The erasure of any mark or writing on any Book, Manuscript, or Map is strictly prohibited.
10. No tracing shall be allowed to be made without express permission of the Librarian.
11. Books in the Open Reference Shelves may be consulted without any formality, but after use they are to be left on the tables instead of being replaced on the shelves.
12. Other books may be obtained by presenting to the Assistant at the counter one of the printed application slips properly filled up.

* Forms of Application for Reader's Ticket may be had on application to the Librarian.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

13. Readers before leaving the Library are required to return to the Assistant at the counter all Books, Manuscripts, or Maps for which they have given tickets, and must reclaim their tickets. Readers are held responsible for such Books, Manuscripts, or Maps so long as the tickets remain uncanceled.
14. Books of great value and rarity may be consulted only in the presence of the Librarian or one of his Assistants.
15. Readers before entering the Library must deposit all wraps, canes, umbrellas, parcels, etc., at the Porter's Lodge in the Vestibule, and receive a check for same.
16. Conversation, loud talking, and smoking are strictly prohibited in every part of the building.
17. Readers are not allowed in any other part of the building save the Library without a special permit.
18. Readers and visitors to the Library are strictly forbidden to offer any fee or gratuity to any attendant or servant.
19. Any infringement of these Rules will render the privilege of admission liable to forfeiture.
20. The privilege of admission is granted upon the following conditions :—
 - (a) That it may at any time be suspended by the Librarian.
 - (b) That it may at any time be withdrawn by the Council of Governors.
21. Complaints about the service of the Library should be made to the Librarian immediately after the occurrence of the cause for complaint, and if written must be signed with the writer's name and address.
22. All communications respecting the use of the Library must be addressed to the Librarian.

HENRY GUPPY.

N.B.—It is earnestly requested that any Reader observing a defect in or damage to any Book, Manuscript, or Map will point out the same to the Librarian.

ADMISSION OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC AND VISITORS.

The general public are admitted to view the Library on Tuesday and Friday afternoons between the hours of two and six, and on the second Wednesday of each month between the hours of seven and nine in the evening. Visitors to Manchester from a distance, at any other time when the Library is open, will be admitted for the same purpose upon application to the Librarian.

BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY MANCHESTER

VOL. 3

JANUARY-MARCH, 1916

No. 1

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

AT the January meeting of the Council of Governors the sixteenth annual report was presented, in which the work of the library during the past year was reviewed. As the circulation of this report is restricted to the governing body of the library it may not be out of place in these pages briefly to summarize such portions of the information which it contains as are likely to be of interest to our readers.

As we looked forward at the commencement of the year it was not unnatural to anticipate a decline in the library's activities. We had become obsessed by the war ; it had entered into every phase of our work, and at times it seemed to overshadow, if not actually to obscure all our visions of usefulness. It is therefore with feelings of relief, as we look back, that we find our gloomy forebodings have not been realized.

Libraries, museums, and art galleries have been marked down as victims of municipal and state retrenchment to an extent which astonishes all who care for the intellectual future of England, and we are grateful to the Editor of the "Saturday Review" for the strong and timely protest which he raised against this mistaken policy. "It will not materially help the country financially to economize in things of the mind, or in any of the things which give a genuine grace and dignity to life. The financial results of such economy are small, and they are tremendously outweighed by the irreparable loss to the country of intellectual force, and of all means by which a nation's spirit is kept alive and fresh. Those who think literature a mere luxury to be cut down with as little compunction as petrol are exceedingly ill-advised. They can have very little idea as to what precisely it is we are fighting to preserve. The nation which is starved in mind and fancy is as little likely to survive the searching test of war as the nation which is starved for bread and cheese."

Libraries are the keepers of the forces which more than any other can effectively fight against and resist the intellectual enslavement which may be described as the roots from which the present world conflagration has sprung. The fruits of the world's thought upon our shelves are a never-failing store of weapons calculated to help the public to assert that freedom to think, to choose, and to believe for themselves if militarism is to be prevented from becoming the pattern to which the whole world is made. Another direction in which the libraries of the country can help at this time is to provide avenues of escape from too much thinking about the war.

Fortunately, the governors have had no illusions of the kind referred to ; they have realized their responsibility, not only to "carry on," but also to open out, wherever possible, new avenues of service, and with most encouraging results. The number of readers in the library not only has shown no decline, but has actually shown an increase, with this difference from former years that there have been fewer male readers, for obvious reasons, whilst the lady readers have increased to such an extent, that at times the seating capacity of the library has been taxed to the point of congestion, and the need for increased accommodation, to which we look forward, is once more emphasized.

By the approaching completion of the new building which should be ready for occupation towards the end of the present year, or at the commencement of 1917, not only will the congestion in this respect be relieved, but the sorely needed additional accommodation for book storage will be available, to the relief of the overcrowded bookshelves.

At the meeting of the Council held in December, 1914, the Governors resolved to give some practical expression to their deep feelings of sympathy with the authorities of the University of Louvain, in the irreparable loss which they had suffered through the destruction of the University buildings and the famous library. It was further decided that this expression of sympathy should take the form of a gift of books, to comprise a set of the publications of the library, together with a selection from the stock of duplicates, which have gradually accumulated in the library, through the purchase *en bloc* from time to time of large and special collections.

THE
RECON-
STRUCTION
OF THE
LOUVAIN
LIBRARY.

A list of upwards of two hundred volumes was drawn up to

accompany the offer, when it was made to the Louvain authorities through the medium of Professor Dr. A. Carnoy, at that time resident in Cambridge, who, in gratefully accepting the gift, stated that "this was one of the very first acts which tend to the preparation of our revival".

Since the University was, as it remains for the present, dismembered and without a home, we gladly undertook to house the volumes, which thus formed the nucleus of the new library, until such time as the new buildings should be ready to receive them. At the same time it was felt that there must be many other libraries, and similar institutions, as well as private individuals, who would welcome an opportunity of sharing in this expression of practical sympathy. An appeal, therefore, was made in the pages of the "BULLETIN," which met with an immediate and encouraging response from all classes of the community, not only in this country, but in many parts of the world, thanks to the valuable assistance rendered by the Press, in giving to our appeal a publicity it would have been impossible to secure in any other way.

Already upwards of 6000 volumes have been either actually received or definitely promised, and each day brings with it fresh offers of assistance. We feel encouraged, therefore, to entertain the hope that the new library, which is already rising phoenix-like from the ashes of the old one, will be richer and more glorious than its predecessor, and we are anxious that the agencies through which this is to be accomplished should be as widely representative as possible.

A careful register of the names and addresses of the donors of the various works, with an exact record of their gifts, has been instituted for presentation with the library. This will serve as a permanent record of the widespread desire to give tangible proof to the people of Belgium of the sympathy so widely felt with them in the calamities that have befallen them, and also of the high and affectionate regard which their heroic sacrifices have inspired.

This is an excellent beginning of the new library, yet, when it is realized that the collection of books so insensately destroyed at Louvain numbered nearly a quarter of a million of volumes, it will be evident that very much more remains to be done if the work of replacement is to be completely successful.

It is with the utmost confidence that we renew our appeal for help, and in doing so we desire to ask those of our readers who may be

desirous of participating in our scheme, to be good enough, in the first instance, to forward to the Librarian of the John Rylands Library a list of the works which they propose to present, so that the register may be examined with the object of obviating a needless duplication of gifts.

We have been compelled through considerations of space to hold over the record of contributions received since December last, but we shall furnish the particulars in our next issue.

Since our appeal was issued, a committee has been formed, under the leadership of Viscount Bryce, as President of the British Academy, to co-operate with the Institut de France in the formation of an International Committee with the ultimate aim of the restoration of the University of Louvain and its library. Invitations were issued to the learned societies and principal libraries throughout the country to appoint delegates to assist in the realization of this aim, and Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.C., with the Librarian were appointed to represent this library. The inaugural meeting was held at Burlington House in December last, when steps were taken to form a small executive committee to consider ways and means. This executive committee has since been formed, with Lord Muir Mackenzie as Chairman, to work in connection with the French Committee, and is now considering the best way of organizing the movement effectively.

INTERNA-
TIONAL
LOUVAIN
COMMIT-
TEE.

The efforts which have been employed throughout the year to develop the resources of the library along lines which hitherto have been productive of such excellent results, and at the same time to reduce the number of lacunæ upon its shelves, have again met with most gratifying success. In this respect the officials have to acknowledge the valuable assistance which they have received from readers, who in the course of their investigations have been able to call attention to the library's lack of very important authorities. In most cases these deficiencies have been promptly supplied, whilst in the case of works of rarity, which are not so readily procurable, steps have been taken to obtain them with the least possible delay. Suggestions of this nature, which tend to the improvement of the library, are not only welcomed, but they are invited, and receive prompt and sympathetic attention.

GROWTH
OF THE
COLLEC-
TIONS.

It may not be out of place again briefly to refer to the help and

guidance which the officials are constantly called upon to render to readers and students, not only by personal attention in the library itself, but also in response to requests received through the post. Such service cannot be reduced to any reliable statistical statement, but they bear fruit in the grateful acknowledgments of indebtedness to the library, which constantly find expression in the footnotes and prefaces of published works.

Notwithstanding the absence of the six members of the staff who have joined His Majesty's Forces, the service of the library has been maintained at its regular level of efficiency, thanks to the loyal co-operation of the remaining members, who from various causes are ineligible for military service.

The additions to the library by purchase and by gift since the presentation of the last report number 3060 volumes, of which 2670 were acquired by purchase, and 390 by gift.

The acquisitions by purchase contain fewer works of current publication than usual, by reason of the fact that there has been something like a pause in authorship since the war began, except in war books. Many prominent scholars have exchanged the peaceful pursuit of literature for the service of the King, and in several cases have already given the last pledge of loyalty to their country. We have therefore been able to pay greater attention to the acquisition of some of the older works, in which the library is still deficient.

The printed books include many rare and interesting items, amongst which are the following: The rare original editions of three of Sir William Alexander's works: "Doomes-day," 1614, "Paraenesis to the Prince," 1604, and "Aurora," 1604; Mexia's "The Forests or collection of Histories," 1571; Joshua Silvestre's "Lachrymae lachrymarum," 1613; Richard Brathwaite's "Whimsies," 1631; the earliest publication of King Edward VIth's reign towards the reformation of ecclesiastical affairs: "Injunctions given by . . . Edward VI. . . ." 1547; Henry Jacob's "Defence of the Churches of England," 1599; Increase Mather's ". . . Trials of New England Witches . . ." 1693; a collection of tracts and broadsides relating to the Popish Plot, 1679-1681; "Breviarium Carmelitanum," 1480; the original edition of Florio's translation of the "Essays of Montaigne," 1603; the original edition of John Harington's translation of "Orlando

Furioso" of Ariosto, 1591 ; John Florio's "Second Fruites . . . and Gardine of Recreation," 1591 ; also a large selection of important works upon the history of British India, made with the help of Professor Ramsay Muir ; a collection of books on Eastern archæology, including an important group of works on the history of Ceylon, from the library of Professor Rhys Davids, etc.

The manuscripts include : "The original record of the Royal receipts and expenses in Ireland for the year of 20 James I," 1622, in 4 vols. ; a collection of eighty volumes of records, of which the outstanding item is a volume of the fifteenth century "Cartulary of Fountains Abbey," which was lost sight of for a very long time, and was unknown to Dugdale, Dodsworth, and the later editors of the "Monasticon Anglicanum," the volume is in a perfect state of preservation, and retains its interesting fifteenth century stamped binding ; the other volumes in the collection consist for the most part of seventeenth century transcripts of State Papers, but include some original documents, which may prove to be of considerable historical importance, including an "Ancient Rent Roll of Oswestry," "Book of Offices under the Crown," "Statutes of Savoy Hospital," etc. A collection of eighty Pali manuscripts on palm leaf, metallic lacquer, or paper, including a number of very rare and unpublished texts, together with a small group of unknown works from the Bali Island beyond Java, in Bali character, from the library of Professor Rhys Davids. A large collection of memoranda, reports, and letters relating to the East India Company, mostly covering the middle of the nineteenth century, with a quantity of material dealing with the earlier history of the Company. The collection seems to have been made by John Charles Mason (1796-1881) who held the office of Marine Secretary of the Indian Government, and was for many years employed at the East India House, upon confidential duties under the Committee of Secrecy. A number of "Court Rolls" of the time of Queen Elizabeth, and a "Legal Commonplace Book" of a Preston solicitor, also of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

These are but a few of the works, taken almost at random, but they suffice to furnish some idea of the importance of the accessions which are constantly being obtained.

In the following list of donors, we have fresh proof of the sustained practical interest in the library, and we take this opportunity of renewing the thanks, already expressed in

GIFTS TO
THE LIBRARY.

another form, for their generous gifts, at the same time assuring them that these expressions of interest and goodwill are a most welcome source of encouragement to the governors.

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British and Foreign Bible Society.

Cairo. The Khedivial Library.

Cambridge. Magdalene College.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

Chicago University Library.

Chicago. John Crerar Library.

Copenhagen. Det Store Kongelige Bibliothek.

Cornell University Library.

Durham University Library.

Groningen. Rijks-Universiteitsbibliotheek.

Habana. Biblioteca Nacional.

Humanitarian League.

International Institute of Agriculture, U.S.A.

Jamaica. Institute of Jamaica, Kingston.

Japanese Government Railways.

London. British Museum.

London. Middle Temple Library.

Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society.

Manchester Museum.

Manchester University Press.

Manchester. Victoria University.

Saint Andrews University Library.

South Australia Public Library.

Stubbs' Publishing Co.

Testimony Publishing Co.

Toronto. Provincial Museum.

Utrecht. Rijks Universiteitsbibliotheek.

Washington. Congressional Library.

Washington. Surgeon-General's Office Library.

Washington University Library, St. Louis, Mo.

Worcester, Mass. Clark University Library.

Yale University Library.

Interest in the public lectures, which have come to be regarded as one of the established institutions of Manchester, has continued unabated throughout the year, in spite of the war. Eight evening and two afternoon lectures have been arranged, thanks to the help so ungrudgingly given, by such scholars as Dr. Rendel Harris, Principal Burrows, Professors Herford, Ramsay Muir, Richard Moulton, Peake, Tout, Elliot Smith, and Mr. Walter Poel. On each occasion the lecture-room has been well filled with a most appreciative audience.

LECTURES
AND DE-
MONSTRATIONS.

A number of special lectures and demonstrations to teachers, students, Sunday School workers, and craftsmen, have also been given during the year, with a view to assist them in obtaining a better knowledge of the contents of the library, and how it can serve them in their respective studies and work.

In connection with the Tercentenary of the Death of Shakespeare, which is to be commemorated in the week following Sunday, the 23rd of April, arrangements have been made for the delivery of three lectures; one by Mr. William Poel on "The Globe Play-house," and two by Professor Richard G. Moulton, on "Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist," and "Shakespeare as a Dramatic Thinker".

TERCEN-
TENARY OF
SHAKE-
SPEARE'S
DEATH.

It is also the intention to arrange for the occasion a special exhibition illustrating the work of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, and to issue one of our usual illustrated handbooks, with a view to reveal, not only to students, but also to the general public, the wealth of material which is available to them in the library for the study of Shakespearian literature.

We congratulate Dr. C. E. Vaughan, one of the Governors of the Library, upon the laborious piece of work which he has just brought to fruition, in the publication of "The Political Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau," in two octavo volumes, by the Cambridge University Press. This is the first time that the political writings of Rousseau have been brought together in this way. In establishing a correct text, furnished with due critical apparatus, and enriched by introductions which put the reader in the way of attaining a fair view of Rousseau's position in the history of political thought, Dr. Vaughan has rendered a service to scholarship, the value and importance of which it is impossible to overestimate. The publication is timely, for the influence of Rousseau is almost unparalleled, and is always with us. The part which he played in shaping the French Revolution is generally recognized, but it is doubtful whether his influence upon the present war of nations and ideas is understood. This point Dr. Vaughan makes clear. Fichte was the disciple of Kant, and Kant of Rousseau. We are told that Fichte's works, embodying his theory of the absolute state, are "manifestly the arsenal from which the later prophets of German nationalism . . . have drawn their heaviest artillery".

DR. VAUGHAN'S
EDITION OF
ROUSSEAU.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CULT OF APOLLO.¹

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., D.LITT., LL.D., D.THEOL., ETC.,
HON. FELLOW OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

IN a recent study of the origin of the Cult of Dionysos,² I attempted to show that the solution of this perplexing question (one of the most perplexing of all the riddles of the Greek Mythology) was to be found in the identification of Dionysos with the Ivy, and in the recognition that the identification with the Vine is a later development, a supersession of an early and less rational cult, if, indeed, we can call that a supersession which does not wholly supersede ; for, as is well known, the Ivy and the Vine go on their religious way together, are seen in the same processions, climb over the same traditional buildings, and wreath the same imperial and sacerdotal brows. In some ways the Ivy seems to have a more tenacious hold upon human regard and custom than the Vine : it behaves in religion as it does in nature, clinging more closely to its support in wall and tree than ever Vine can do, and giving a symbolic indication both by rootlet and tendril that wherever it comes, it has come to stay. It appears as the tattooed totem-mark upon the worshipper's bodies, the sign of an ownership which religion has affirmed and which time cannot disallow.

Now this view that the Ivy is the fundamental and primitive cult-symbol in the worship of Dionysos was not altogether new : as I pointed out, it had been very clearly stated by Perdrizet in his *Cultes et Mythes de Pangée* : it had also been suggested by S. Reinach (from whom, I suppose, Perdrizet derived it) as the following passage will show : I had not noticed it when writing my paper :—

“Le lierre, comme le taureau, le chevreau, le faon, est une

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 12 Oct., 1915.

² Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. April, 1915.

SILVER DISH FROM CORBRIDGE-ON-TYNE.



forme primitive de Dionysos, dont il est resté l'attribut ; les Ménades déchirent et machent le lierre comme un animal sacré, victime de *σπαργμὸς* ou de *νεβρισμός* ; et Plutarque sait, sans le dire formellement (car il n'est pas homme à révéler les mystères) que l'effet de cette manducation du lierre est de rendre les Ménades *ἐνθεοί*, de faire passer en elles la divinité" (*Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, ii. 105).

This agrees very nearly with my own statement as to the meaning of the chewing of the Ivy by the Maenads : but if the identification of the Ivy as a primitive form of Dionysos is not new (I should say, of the Ivy as *the* primitive form), the reason for the identification is altogether new. As I pointed out, Perdrizet (and, I may add, S. Reinach) see the Ivy off the oak : when we see it on the oak, the whole process of the evolution of the cult becomes intelligible : the Ivy is sacred because it partakes of the sanctity of the oak ; both of them are sacred because they are animistically repositories of the thunder. A collateral proof of this may be found amongst the Lithuanian peoples : as Grimm points out, " the Lettons have named it (the ground-ivy) *pehrkones* from their god *Pehrkon*". This is the Thunder-god *Perkun*. The importance of this consideration is very great : in the nature of the case, there can be no intermediate link between the Ivy and the Oak : the Ivy is the last link ; whatever other creeping or climbing plants (Vine, Smilax, Clematis) may develop Dionysiac sanctity, they can only do so in a derivative and secondary manner : if the Cult of Dionysos is to be explained, it must be from the conjunction of Thunder, Oak, and Ivy as a starting-point. I am now proposing to discuss the origin of the Cult of Apollo, using the results already attained as a guide ; for, as I shall presently show, there is much that is common in the manner of genesis of the two cults in question, and the solution of one will help us to the solution of the other.

Before, however, we proceed to the investigation of the Apolline cult, it will be proper to make a few remarks on the Dionysos cult, as it is expounded in a volume which has appeared since my paper was written. I am referring to Miss Gladys M. N. Davis' work on the *Asiatic Dionysos*. The object of this laborious and learned work, in which the writer shows as great familiarity with Sanskrit literature as with Greek, is to show that the Greek Dionysos is not really Greek

at all, but of Asiatic origin. Asiatic in Miss Davis' book means many things : it may mean the Ionic School in literature, it may mean the Phrygian School in religion, but the final meaning, with regard to which the other two are alternative and secondary, is that Dionysos is an Indo-Iranian product ; to understand it we must go to the Avesta and the Rig-Veda. The perplexing titles which Dionysos bears will all become clear from Sanskrit philology or Medo-Persian geography. The central point of the theory is that Dionysos is the Soma, the divine and divinising drink of our Aryan ancestors, which appears in Old Persian under the name of Haoma, and which when theomorphised is one of the greatest of the gods in the Indian Pantheon.

The identification is not new : Miss Davis uses freely Langlois' *Mémoire sur la divinité Védique appelée Soma*,¹ and points out that Langlois was accepted in his identification by Maury in his *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce*.² She might also have referred to Kerbaker, *Il Bacco Indiano*,³ which would have had the advantage of supplying a more modern student of the theory than those writers who belong to a time when everything ancient was Indian, and when Sanskrit was the last word in philology.

In any case, there was *prima facie* ground for re-opening the question of the Oriental origin of Dionysos ; for it must be admitted that we cannot completely explain the legendary exploits of Dionysos in India as religious creations whose motive is to be found in the campaigns of Alexander ; the opening verses of the Bacchae of Euripides are sufficient to suggest that Dionysos had some links with Persia and with Bactria at a much earlier date ; and whatever may be our story of the evolution of the cult, it will not be complete unless these pre-Alexandrine as well as the post-Alexandrine elements of Asiatic influence are taken into account. According to Miss Davis the Greeks were Medizing before the Persian war, not only in commerce but in literature and religion. The proof of this Medism is the dithyrambic movement in poetry (closely associated with the Dionysian revels on the one hand, and with the Ionic School of poetry on the other), and the Bacchic movement in religion. At

¹ *Acad. des Inscript. et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xix. Paris, 1853.

² Paris, 1857.

³ *Mem. R. Acad. di Arch. Lett. e Belle Arti*. Napoli, 1905.

first sight, each of these supposed influences seems to be unlikely ; I am not expert in dithyrambic poetry and its extravagances, but it seems to be in the highest degree improbable that the Greeks, at the time when their literature was nearing its full-bloom, should have shown so little originality as to copy wholesale from the Persians the dithyrambic method, and that the Vedic poets are the proof that the dithyrambic method was there to copy : and I am sure that the major part of Miss Davis' parallels are unreal and her conclusions illusory. As, however, I am not really in a position to discuss the dithyrambic movement in Greek poetry, perhaps I have said more by way of criticism than I am entitled to say. So I pass on to make one or two remarks on the proposed identification of Dionysos with the Soma.

In the first place, then, it follows from the proposed identification of Dionysos with Soma that Soma is the Ivy, or a primitive surrogate for the Ivy. In the next place, it may be granted that if the Proto-Aryans drank a beverage compounded from Soma-Ivy, the proceeding is one which belongs to the elementary strata of Aryan belief (it might even be pre-Aryan), and has nothing whatever to do with any possible loans contracted by the Greeks in the Persian period, which go under the comprehensive name of Medism.

As far as I am concerned there is no need to deny Persian influences in religion. To take a single instance, we know from Aristophanes that the Cock was a Persian importation, and that he actually bore the title *Περσικός*. It is, however, equally clear that the Cock had a religious value in Persia, and was, in fact, the Persian Thunder-bird ; and it is in the character of the Thunder-bird that he takes his place in Sparta (displacing, no doubt, an original Woodpecker) and becomes the cult-bird of the Heavenly Twins, just as he was in Persia. So a religious symbol can be transplanted. That is not quite the same thing as transplanting a religion. If a religion appears to be transplanted, it will probably be found upon closer scrutiny, that it was in existence already.

Is there, then, any probability that an equation can be made between the Soma-plant and the Ivy ? An equation, I say, not a transfer : in the case of such primitive matter, that supposition is unnecessary. Botanically, we cannot identify, for the Soma plant is still an unknown quantity. It was a mountain plant, and it was a

creeping plant with long tendrils, and it grows on the rocks, and is also, apparently, a tree-climber ; its juice is yellow, and has intoxicating value, either naturally or when subject to fermentation. This intoxicating quality makes it the drink of the gods and the medicine of immortality. Probably it is this intoxicating quality which causes it to be spoken of in terms borrowed from *mead* and the honey out of which it is made.

Now it is clear that thus far there is nothing to forbid an identification, or a quasi-identification of Soma with the Ivy : it might be the Ivy, or a first substitute for it.¹

In the next place, there is a parallelism between the two cult-creepers, in that each of them is closely related to the Thunder-god and the Storm-gods. In the case of Bacchus, there was a tendency on the part of students to ignore this connection, although one would have supposed that the relation of Dionysos to Zeus and Semele, and the emphasis which the legend lays on his birth in a thunderstorm, would have been sufficient to establish it, to say nothing of the thunderous elements which turn up in the language of the Bacchæ. Now that we see the Ivy on the Oak, we need not have any hesitation in connecting Dionysos with the Thunder. In the case of the Soma the same thing is true ; Soma is especially connected with the thundering Indra, and is actually said, in one case, to be the son of the Storm-god Parjanya.

The mention of this latter god raises an interesting problem : for Parjanya is commonly held to be the equivalent of the Lithuanian (and Slavonic) Oak-and-Thunder god Perkun ; now we have already in our essay connected Dionysos with Perkun, through the title *Perikionios* which the Greeks gave him, a title which we suggested was a mere misunderstanding of a primitive Perkunios. We should thus have made connection between Dionysos and the Soma, through the common element of a primitive thunder-cult. If this can be maintained, it will be a result as illuminating as it is interesting.

The chief objection to it comes from the standpoint of the comparative philologist. In Hastings' *Encyclop. for Religion and*

¹ I have taken the yellow colour of Soma to be the colour of its juice : it should, however, be noted that some varieties of ivy have yellow berries : cf. Theokr. *id.* i. 31, καρπῶ . . . κροκοέντι, and Plin. H.N. 16, 147, semen : . . . crocatum.

Ethics, under the article *Aryans* (a splendid summary of our present knowledge of our ancestors), Schrader objects to the identification of Parjanya with Perkun, on the ground that the Sanskrit *j* cannot be equated with the Lettish *k*. It is possible, however, that the objection is wrongly taken, and is still too much under the influence of the belief that everything Sanskrit is primitive. The Norse equivalent of Perkun appears to be Fjörgynn; and this suggests a form Parganyas behind the extant Sanskrit deity. After all, the equation between the two Storm-gods (accepted by Usener and others in modern times¹) may be defensible.

We must be prepared, on the other hand, for an adverse verdict on the point before us from the experts in comparative philology: so that it will be wise not to build too hastily on the equation between *Perkun* and *Parjanya*.

A further caution must be emphasised in regard to the assumed derivation of *Perikionios* as a title of Dionysos from *Perkun* or *Perkunios*. The identification has met with a good degree of approbation. *Perikionios* had, in any case, an uncanny and artificial appearance. There are, however, those who express hesitation or reserve. For example, Mr. A. B. Cook doubts whether the title *Perikionios* was used by anybody who had come into contact with *Perkun-worshippers*, and thinks that *Perikionios* is quite explicable on its own merits without being regarded as a mere misunderstanding of a primitive *Perkunios*.

This may be so, but on the other hand Mr. Cook admits that in *Zeus* (i. 241, n. 15) he had been tempted to make a similar equation of Greek *Pikoloos* with the Lithuanian *Pikulas*. This last is a very interesting case on account of the suspicion which at once comes to one's mind that we are dealing with some survival of the ancestral Woodpecker. In the case of the Greek name, *πίκος* stands out clearly enough: the Lithuanian name has never, as far as I know,

¹ Usener, *Götternamen*, 97, says of Perkun: "Die bedeutende gottergestalt ist uralt: ind. *Parjanya*: alt-nord *Fjörgynn*, slav. *Perun*". See J. Grimm, *Klein. Schr.* 2, 414 ff. Bühler in Benfey's *Orient u. Occ.* i. 214. Zimmer, *Ztsch. f. d. alt.* 19, 164 ff. We may also compare Oldenberg, *Veda*, p. 226 n.: "Der Name (*Parjanya*) bekanntlich aus indog. Zeit. vgl. den litauischen *Perkunas*, den nordischen Gott und Göttinn *Fjörgyn*. Nach Hirt: *Idg. Forschungen*, i. 481, wäre die Bedeutung 'Eichengott'."

been explained. When the Christian religion affected Lithuanian beliefs, it seems to be pretty clear that *Pikulas* became the name for the devil. For the bird-ancestry of the devil (as a dispossessed thunder-bird) there is not a little evidence ; the so-called cloven hoof is probably a bird's foot : so there is no impossibility in finding the Woodpecker in *Pikulas*, but the matter needs closer examination before we can speak definitely.

Now let us take some further objections, and after we have stated them briefly we shall be able to go on to the problems of the Cult of Apollon.

There seems to be no adequate evidence that *Soma* is a fire-stick. It is inherent in our theory of the sanctity of the Ivy as derived from the thunder and the oak, that the Ivy is a primitive fire-stick : we know, in fact, that this is actually the case. The first fire-sticks amongst the Greeks are made of Ivy, Oak, Laurel, etc. Apparently the Ivy holds the place of honour, which is just what we should not have expected, apart from its link with the thunder and lightning. If we were starting out to make fire by friction, ivy-wood is about the last thing which we should have dreamt of using. Its use is a sufficient proof that there was an occult reason for its use.

Now let us turn to *Soma*. There is the same traditional production of fire, carried on religiously, among the Indians even to our own day ; but no sign that *Soma* was a wood capable of becoming a fire-stick. The fig-tree has a prominent place in this regard, as it seems to have a subdued place in Dionysian cults, but there is no sign of *Soma*-wood. The objection is a strong one. There is, however, something to be said on the other side. In Indian myth, *Soma* is not only the companion of Indra, the thunder, and of *Parjanya*, the rain-storm ; it has also a close connection with *Agni*, the fire. It is possible, then, that the Vedic *Soma* is not the first form of the stimulant, but a later and more potent one, which has displaced the first cult-symbol, something in the same way as, let us say, the Vine becomes more effective than the Ivy. Or, in Vedic times, the primitive fire-stick might have disappeared.

There are other objections arising from the want of agreement in the cult-use of the plants in question. We know that the Ivy is chewed by the Maenads, and that is about all that we do know : in the case of *Soma* we know minutely its preparation ; that it is crushed

between two stones, compared to thunder-bolts, and so perhaps the stones are actual celts supplying one more thunder element to the ritual ; that the yellow juice is mixed with flour, etc., fermented and strained through a strainer of sheep's wool : but there is not a suggestion that Soma is chewed, nor a hint that Ivy is pulped and decocted and strained. Thus we seem to be in two different cult regions, and are tempted to conclude that Soma cannot be either the Ivy or Dionysos. Is there any way of avoiding this conclusion ? Let us study for awhile an analogous sacred drink, the Kava of the Polynesian and Melanesian. Kava is the root of a pepper tree, the *Piper Methysticum*, out of which they make in the South Seas a mild intoxicant with a soapy taste. The method of its preparation varies somewhat in different islands. The root is chewed by a chief who, when he has macerated a portion, squeezes the juice of the portion which he has chewed into a bowl, where it is mixed with water, strained through cocoa-fibre, and then drunk out of small cocoa-shells which are filled with great ceremony to the men of the company out of the large Kava-bowl. In some of the more civilised islands (Samoa, for instance) the Kava is not chewed ; it is grated ; a rough grater is made in Samoa by driving some nails into a piece of tin ; the grated root is then mixed with water and strained ; in Samoa the preparation is made by the hands of the prettiest girl in the village, who mixes the drink and strains it with great deliberation and care. She is the priestess of the occasion ; but if you were to tell the natives in one of the less civilised islands that you had seen a woman making Kava, they would be consumed with laughter.¹

Here we have a case analogous in some respects to the brewing of Soma : and it suggests that in the pre-Vedic history of Soma, the plant was chewed and not pounded ; we easily attach too much antiquity to things Vedic. Suppose we conjecture that the Soma was chewed by the Brahmans, and so made potable : we should then have restored parallelism with the action of the Maenads with the Ivy. Yes ! it will be said, but you must also have an ivy-drink prepared. Your Maenads must be as elementary in their dietetic prologues as the South Sea islanders. Who shall say they were not ? The whole process is a sacrament, and they might have just as religiously prepared a drink-god as chewed a leaf-god. So let us say

¹ See Rivers, *Hist. Melanesian Society*, i. 82.

that if hypothesis be allowed free play, it is not impossible that Soma might be that ivy, with a somewhat more highly evolved method of preparation.

It is interesting to be able to point out that we have, even in England, suspicious traces of the survival of an ivy-drink. Professor Lake reminds me that in Lincoln College, Oxford, they drink Ivy-beer on Ascension day ; i.e. beer in which ivy-leaves have been steeped overnight. Mr. Lake says that "it always seemed to me to be a very unpleasant drink". In Gerard's *Herball*, p. 707, we find further traces of the same custom :—

"The women of our northern parts, especially about Wales and Cheshire do tun¹ the herb ale-hooe into their Ale, but the reason thereof I know not ; notwithstanding without all controversie, it is most singular against the griefes aforesaid ; being tunned up in Ale and drunke, it also purgeth the head from rheumaticke humours flowing from the braine." *Alehoofe* is a popular name given to the ground-ivy and is commonly taken to be a corruption of the Dutch *ei-loof* or *ivy-leaf*. If so it is a modification induced by the fact that the ivy is drunk in ale. It is interesting to observe that the ivy has medical value, according to old Gerard. That point should be carefully noted. There is not a trace of it in the Oxford custom, which is attached to the beating of the bounds in two Oxford parishes.²

¹ For the use of this word, nearly in our times (I believe it is still in use in Lancashire), we may take White, *Selborne* (*Garden Kalendar* for 1768) : "Tunned the raisin-wine and put to it 10 bottles of elder syrup," etc.

² The following is the account of the Ivy-ale given in Clark's *History of Lincoln College*, p. 209 : "On Ascension day, the parishioners of St. Michael's, and, till recently, the parishioners of All Saints', beat their bounds. To enable this to be done, since the line of the boundary passes in at Brasenose gate and out of Lincoln gate, a dark obscure passage, left for the purpose through Brasenose buildings into Lincoln, is opened for that morning. By old custom, a lunch is provided for the parishioners who have attended the vestry. Formerly St. Michael's lunch was set in the buttery as being in that parish, All Saints' in the Hall, as in their own ground. For this lunch a tankard of ground-ivy ale is prepared—i.e. of ale in which ground-ivy has been steeped overnight. If the manciple has been too generous in his allowance of the herb, the flavour is too marked for modern taste. The origin of this 'cup' I have never seen explained. I have heard a religious origin conjectured for it, that it was emblematic of the 'wine mingled with gall'."

In drawing attention to the use of ivy-ale in the beating of bounds at Oxford, we must not forget that the beating of bounds is a very early and very religious act. It is recognised as being closely related to the Roman ceremony of the *Ambarvalia*, when on the 29th day of May the farms and fields undergo lustration with processions and prayers.

"Of all the Roman Festivals," says Warde Fowler, "this is the only one which can be said with any truth to be still surviving. When the Italian priest leads his flocks round the fields with the ritual of the *Litania major* in Rogation week he is doing very much what the *Fratres Arvales* did in the infancy of Rome, and with the same object. In other countries, England among them, the same custom was taken up by the Church, which rightly appreciated its utility, both spiritual and material; the bounds of the parish were fixed in the memory of the young, and the wrath of God was averted by an act of duty from man, cattle, and crops." (!)

In view of the antiquity and wide diffusion of these customs, practised for the purification of a community and the averting of evil therefrom, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the drinking of ivy is itself a part of the religious ceremony and has preservative value. And this means that it must make for itself a place in the *materia medica*, which owes so much in its earlier stages to the knowledge of the magical virtue of plants and animals.

We are able to show that this drinking of ivy steeped in ale or steeped in wine has a very definite place in early medicine; so that we need not any longer think of it as surviving only in the customs of an Oxford college. We have already shown the use of ground-ivy in ale from Gerard's *Herball* (A.D. 1597); the same *Herball* will tell us that (p. 708) "the leaves of Ivie, fresh and greene, boiled in wine, do heale olde ulcers, and perfectly cure those that have a venemous and malitious quality joined with them; and are a remedie against burnings and scaldings. Moreover the leaves boiled with vinegar are good for such as have bad spleenes; but the flowers and fruit are of more force, being very finely beaten and tempered with vinegar, especially so used they are commended against burnings."

There is more to the same effect, borrowed apparently from Dioscorides, perhaps through the medium of Dodonaeus, who in his *Stirpium Historiae* writes as follows:—

“Hedera . . . viridis autem, foliis eius in vina decoctis, ulcera grandia conglutinat, quaeque maligna sunt, ad sanitatem reducit : tum igne factas exulcerationes cicatrice includit. Porro cum aceta cocta folia lienosis prosunt. Flores autem validiores sunt, ut ad laevorem redacti cum cerato ambustis conveniant.”

We have, then, in the Oxford custom a survival of early medicine as well as of early religion. The two are not very far apart in their origins.

Before leaving this point, let me say something about kava itself : for kava also lies at the heart of a problem, the problem of the origin of the Melanesians. Its importance lies in the consideration that all Polynesians and Melanesians drink kava, though they vary somewhat in the manner of its preparation. Then they brought the kava with them at some stage of the migration from Indonesia into Melanesia. In the same way, the Melanesians, as far to the S.E. as the Solomon and Santa Cruz Islands, chew the betel leaf, for the most part as in Southern India and Ceylon, with the accompaniment of lime and arecanuts. Mr. Rivers, who has recently made such a careful study of Melanesian society, has come to the conclusion¹ that “Melanesian culture is complex, having arisen through the settlement of two immigrant peoples, named after their use of kava and betel, among an earlier population possessing the dual system of society” (i.e. society in two exogamous groups, each group only marrying with the other).

Now Rivers suggests the following sequence of migrations : “First, a people possessing the dual organisation of Society ; next, an immigrant people who introduced the use of kava, and were the founders of the secret organisations of Melanesia ; third, a people who introduced the practice of head-hunting and betel-chewing ; and lastly, relatively recent influences, from Polynesia and Micronesia,”²

According to Rivers, kava differs from betel in that it is used over a more restricted area of the world than the widely diffused betel (ii. 255) ; its use is “limited to Polynesia and Micronesia, Melanesia, including the Admiralty Islands, and New Guinea, and there can be little doubt that it is within this area that we must look for the origin of the practice”.

¹ *History of Melanesian Society*, ii. 575.

² *Ibid.* ii. 290.

Rivers then goes on to suggest that kava-chewing may be an early form of betel-chewing, the betel pepper being replaced by the kava pepper, and the change from the leaf to the root being the result of an observation made upon a rat who was seen to chew the root and to behave abnormally in consequence. This tradition was told him by a native of the island of Pentecost and confirmed in another quarter. So we should have, first, betel-leaf chewing followed by kava-root chewing, then as the result of a fresh immigration, more betel-leaf chewing by a later generation, and so Melanesian manners are explained.

There is, however, a difficulty in accepting this order of events. It ignores the fact that kava-drinking is a religious act, associated with the chief events of life, while betel-chewing appears to be nothing of the kind. Mr. Rivers admits that (ii. 146) "the drinking of kava is a prominent feature of the ritual of such occasions as birth, initiation, and death, and on these occasions kava is offered to the dead with the accompaniment of a prayer".

There is another objection to Mr. Rivers' statements : if kava is derivative from betel, the practice of chewing is earlier than the custom of grating the root. Certainly, we should say ; but Mr. Rivers strangely thinks that chewing kava is the more recent custom : (ii. 247) "in the Banks and Torres Islands the root is chewed, but in the New Hebrides, which we have *every reason to regard as a region of more archaic culture*, there is no chewing".

Probably when we know more about the inhabitants of Indonesia and the Malay States, we may find the origin of kava on the mainland, without reference to the betel-pepper at all. At present we do not know the story of the Melanesians sufficiently, before they reached Melanesia. Arguing from language and from the presence of many Aryan roots in the Melanesian vocabulary, Dr. George Brown, who is one of the best skilled of Melanesian missionaries, came to the conclusion that while the people are Turanian, they have been mixed with elements from an Aryan migration : and I believe Dr. Codrington was of the same opinion. Some day we shall know more about the origin of these great migrations, from India and elsewhere into Malaysia and thence to Indonesia, by which the South Seas were peopled, and perhaps we shall also know the origin of

kava-drinking : the discovery will be a chapter in the history of religion.

And now let us come to the origin of the Cult of Apollo. Our reason for discussing this as a pendant to the study of the Cult of Dionysos, lies in the proved mythological consanguinity of the two gods. They exchange characters and titles, they overlap in function. To some extent this overlapping of function characterises the whole Olympic Pantheon : the gods encroach upon one another to such an extent that Lucian represents Zeus as laying down restrictive laws, and insisting that Asklepios shall not meddle with oracles nor Athena with medicine.

But the relation between Dionysos and Apollo is much closer than that which would be expressed by occasional exchange or invasion of one another's functions. Sometimes their very names seem to be alternative, so that it is not easy to tell which deity is involved in a statement. In a line preserved from the *Likymnios* of Euripides¹ we have an address to

δέσποτα, φιλόδαφνε Βάκχε, παιᾶν Ἀπολλων εὐλυρε.

Here Bacchus is invoked who loves the laurel (*Daphne*) (which one would have supposed to be an Apolline title), and is equated with the *Paian* Apollo. A similar transfer of title is found in a fragment of *Æschylus*,² where Apollo is spoken of as

ὁ κισσεὺς Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Βακχεύς, ὁ μαντῖς.

Here Apollo has the ivy for his cult symbol, just as in the previous fragment Dionysos had the laurel.



PLATE I.—COIN OF ALABANDA IN CARIA.

Each of these transfers invites the hypothesis that in some sense Dionysos is Apollo.

In the same way Apollo appears on the coins of Alabanda in Caria as Apollo Κίσσιος, and sometimes the goat of Dionysos is added, or the reverse of the coin bears the ivy-crowned head of

¹ *Fragg.* ed.² Nauck, 477.

² Fr. 341. It should, however, be noted that *Βακχεύς* is Nauck's emendation for *βακσιος* or *καβαιος* in the passage of Macrobius (*Sat.* i. 18, 6), from which this and the preceding fragment are derived. The observed identity of the two gods is due to Macrobius.

Dionysos, if indeed it is Dionysos and not a variant of Apollo. It has also been pointed out that at the festival of the Hyacinthia, ivy-crowns are worn ; but this festival certainly belongs to the cycle of Apollo.

The conjectural equivalence becomes a positive statement in the rhetorician Menandros, who tells us that at Delphi the names Apollo and Dionysos are alternatives :—¹

Μίθραν σε Πέρσαι λέγουσιν, ὦρον Αἰγύπτιοι, σὺ γὰρ εἰς κύκλον τὰς ὥρας ἄγεις, Διόνυσον Θηβαῖοι, Δελφοὶ δὲ διπλῇ προσηγορίᾳ τιμῶσιν, Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Διόνυσον λέγοντες.

We knew from other sources that Delphi was almost like a common sanctuary to the two deities. Plutarch had, in fact, told us that Dionysos was almost as much at home in Delphi as Apollo.² The same identification is suggested for Apollo and Dionysos at Rhodes and elsewhere, with the addition of Helios ; for, according to Dio Chrysostom, it was said τὸν μὲν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν, and this is confirmed by Rhodian coins which show Helios (= Apollo) crowned with ivy and grapes in the Dionysiac manner.

There must, surely, be some underlying reason for these common titles and sanctuary, and for the confusion of the personalities of the deities in question.

Then there is a curious parallelism in the rituals of the two gods, for if the priestess of Apollo chews the laurel for her inspiration, the same thing can be said of the ivy-chewing Maenads, whatever be the meaning of the inspiration sought.

We may refer at this point to a curious case of Bacchic madness, in which the inspired women eat the ivy, the smilax, and the laurel, of which the first two belong to the ritual of Dionysos, and the third to the ritual of Apollo. Antoninus Liberalis records the story of certain maidens who were turned into night-birds. He calls them

¹ Menand. Rhet. ed. Sprengel, iii. 446⁵.

² Plut. *De Ei. ap. Delphos*. 9. τὸν Διόνυσον ᾧ τῶν Δελφῶν οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μέτεστιν.

A good illustration of this may be found in the archaic Greek mirror, figured by Miss Harrison in *Themis*, p. 142, where the two gods stand face to face, with the solar disk between them. Here also we have Apollo, Dionysos, and Helios in conjunction.

Minyades, and says they left their father's house, and as Bacchants on the mountains fed on ivy, smilax, and laurel, until Hermes touched them with his rod and transformed them into birds.

It seems lawful to conclude that the chewing of ivy by the Maenads, and the chewing of laurel by the Pythian priestess are ritual rites of the same significance, and, as was stated above, the intention is the absorption of the god by the worshippers. The cults involved are parallel.

Pursuing the investigation a little further, we come to an important discovery by Mr. A. B. Cook,¹ that the laurel which we are accustomed to regard as so characteristically Apolline, had been substituted for the oak, even at Delphi itself. This time it is Ovid that lets the cat out of the mythological bag. Mr. Cook sums up the matter as follows: "The oldest of the Apolline myths is the story of the god's fight with Python at Delphi. Ovid (*Met.* i. 445 . . .), after telling it, adds that to keep in memory this signal victory the Pythian games were instituted and that 'whoever had won with hand or feet or wheel received the honour of oaken foliage (*aesculeae . . . frondis*) ; *the laurel as yet was not*, and Phoebus crowned his brows, fair with their flowing tresses, from the nearest tree'. It appears, then, that the laurel had been preceded by the oak at Delphi."² After having shown the priority of the Delphic oak to the Delphic laurel, Ovid goes on to tell the story of Daphne. We can read back the myth into its original elements. When we give Apollo oak-sanctity, we begin to understand the meaning of his consanguinity with Dionysos. The laurel, then, is surrogate for the oak. The sun-god is, in some way, connected with the Thunder, and with the Sky, before he becomes the patron and spirit of the orb of day. We can find occasional traces of the thunder in the traditions of Apollo. Some-

¹ *European Sky-God*, i. p. 413.

² Ovid, *Met.* i. 445 *sqq.* :—

"Neve operis famam possit delere vetustas,
Instituit sacros celebri certamine ludos
Pythia perdomitae serpentis nomine dictos.
His iuvenum quicumque manu pedibusve rotave
Vicerat, aesculeae capiebat frondis honorem.
Nondum laurus erat, longoque decentia crine
Tempora cingebat de qualibet arbore Phoebus.
Primus amor Phoebi Daphne Peneia. . . ."

times his arrows are said to be lightnings : thus Pausanias (iii. 1, 6) says that Aristodemus died by a lightning-stroke, whereas Apollodorus (ii. 173) explains his death as due to an arrow of Apollo, and so not by sunstroke, if the two traditions are the same. And that Apollodorus means us to understand that Apollo's arrow is the lightning, appears from another passage (i. 139) where

Ἀπόλλων . . . τοξεύσας τῷ βέλει εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κατήστραψεν.

Mr. A. B. Cook offers a further suggestion of Apollo's connection with the lightning, in the observation that "two of the sun's steeds, according to the oldest tradition, were named Bronte and Sterope, thunder and lightning," and remarks acutely that "the Sun-god has much in common with the thunder-god".¹

He also points out a singularly apposite parallel in the Babylonian theology, with its close inter-relation of Shamash (the Sun-god) and Ramman (the Thunder-god) as Shamash-Ramman. "These two conceptions of storm-god and sun-god, which to our way of thinking seem diametrically opposed, are in point of fact by no means incompatible. 'In many mythologies, says Dr. Jastrow, the sun and the lightning are regarded as correlated forces. At all events, the frequent association of Shamash and Ramman cannot have been accidental.'"²

These very luminous comments show us the direction in which to look for the solution of our problem. It is the original Sky-god (= oak-god) that has shown the two faces, one bright and one dark. Dionysos stands to Apollo in the ratio of the dark sky to the bright. More exactly, they are both Sky-gods, but Dionysos belongs to the dark sky with traces of the bright sky. With Apollo it is the converse order. Each is a child of Zeus, but Dionysos is on the thunder-side of the house, Apollo on the sunshiny side. But as we have shown, they are not so very far apart ; Apollo does sometimes handle the thunder.³

¹ *Zeus*, i. 337.

² *Ibid.*, i. 578.

³ In replacing the Delphic laurel, as we shall presently do, by a previous cult-oak, we may have to replace the laurel-maiden by an oak-maiden. Is she Dryope ? or is *Dryope* another name for the woodpecker ? We are in the oak-area for certain. Probably *Dryope* is really an oak-maiden, and it is Dryops, her father, that is the woodpecker. Mr. Cook points out that after Dryope had visited the temple of Apollo, she was carried off by the Hamadryads, who caused a poplar to spring up in her place. Note

We can take a further step in the investigation. Each of the two gods is concerned in the production of fire, and their vegetable symbols show that each of them may be described as a fire-stick. We have already explained that the ivy became a fire-stick, because such fire-sticks are naturally made out of wood which has been recognised as containing the sacred fire, the lightning, and which are able under friction to give out again the fire which they have concealed. It is well known that our ancestors made fire by friction of oak-wood. For instance, as Frazer points out,¹ "perpetual fires, kindled with the wood of certain oak-trees, were kept up in honour of Perkunas ; if such a fire went out it was lighted again by friction of the sacred wood". He goes on to observe that "men sacrificed to oak-trees for good crops, while women did the same for lime-trees ; from which we may infer that they regarded oaks as male and lime-trees as female". The sex distinction in firewoods arose by natural analogy, the boring-stick being regarded as male, the other as female. That is, the lime-tree is the female conjugate of the oak in the making of sacred fire. The sex of the stick is not constant ; it is defined by the relative hardness of two kinds of woods : ivy might be male, for example, to laurel ; it might be female to oak.² It is not the case in the first definition that the ivy is male to the oak, because it clasps and rings the oak. As a matter of fact its embrace might be interpreted in quite the opposite sense. Shakespeare makes the ivy feminine in *Midsummer Night's Dream* :—

The female Ivy so
Enrings the barky fingers of the Elm.

(Act IV. sc. i.)

the suggestion of the poplar as a surrogate for the oak. I am inclined to suggest that the original name of Dryops was Dryopikos (the Oak-Picus), which was wrongly taken to be an adjective. We get a similar form in the *Epinal Glossary*, 648 : fina = marsopicus (i.e. Picus Martius).

¹ *Magic Art*, ii. 366.

² The wood of the plane-tree, for instance, is male to the wood of the birch. Thus when the Russian peasants make the *givoy agon* or living fire, the proceeding is described as follows : "Some men hold the ends of a stick made of the plane-tree, very dry and about a fathom long. This stick they hold firmly over one of birch, perfectly dry, and rub with violence, and quickly, against the former ; the birch, which is somewhat softer than the plane, in a short time inflames" (E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, p. 259).

But these sexual specifications are mere poetic imaginings ; primitive man was occupied with a more practical view of things ; he wanted to find out which woods made fire, and to construct for himself a scale of relative hardness of the sacred woods out of which fire could be made. If he used two pieces of the same wood, one piece was male and the other female. If he used oak and ivy, one kind of wood was male and the other female.

Now recall our observation that the laurel at Delphi was a surrogate for the oak. The natural suggestion is that at Delphi, the laurel as a fire-stick has replaced some earlier wood. It may have been that oak and oak have been replaced by oak and laurel : the laurel will be the softer wood and is female. Now we begin to see daylight on some mythological amours : there is the case of

	Dionysos and Caroea (Miss Nutt) :
and	Apollo and Daphne (Miss Laurel).

It is the fire-sticks that explain the mythology.

On this showing, Apollo would be some kind of wood : we have nearly shorn him of his sunbeams. We are to look for his origin in the vegetable world, just as we found Dionysos hiding away behind the ivy. In what direction shall we look ? Our first suggestion would be that we should look oak-wards ; for we have come to suspect that the oak, in the worship of Apollo, had anterior sanctity to the laurel. The analogy of the Dionysian cult suggests that we look for one of the parasites of the oak. Now the singular thing about the oak-cult is that the oak contains within itself the differentiation of the cult of the Sky, into bright sky and dark sky, to which we were just now alluding. The ivy is the symbol of the thunder, the mistletoe is the symbol of the sunshine : but even in the mistletoe there are suggestions of thunder and lightning, as, for instance, when Balder is killed by an arrow that is made from a piece of mistletoe. Shall we say, then, that Apollo, who is the bright sky with suggestions of thunder is the mistletoe ? There is something to be said for the solution, though perhaps the real answer is not quite so simple.

Mistletoe in Greek is ἱξός ; and its solar value is attested by the story of Ixion, the mistletoe-man, who goes round and round in Hades on a solar wheel. But Apollo himself is a mistletoe-man.

There was a town in the island of Rhodes called Ἰξίαι, and this town of Ixiai, or Mistletoe-town, worshipped Apollo under the title of Ἰξίος Ἀπόλλων, or the Mistletoe-Apollo. The parallel with the Ivy-Dionysos worshipped at Acharnai, is obvious. We shall make the suggestion, then, that Apollo is either the mistletoe, or something connected with mistletoe: only, as in the case of ivy, it should be the mistletoe *on the tree*, deriving its sanctity from the oak, in which the Sky dwells animistically as sunshine or as thunder.

Assuming, then, the connection of Apollo with the mistletoe we have to examine into the distribution of the mistletoe and the trees upon which it appears. We are told by Frazer (G.B. xi.) to distinguish between the *Viscum Album*, which seldom grows on oaks, but most commonly on apple-trees, or poplars, and the *Loranthus Europæus*, which attacks chiefly oaks. Suppose we find the mistletoe growing freely on some other tree than the oak, say on a poplar or a pine, will it not be a natural conclusion that it has brought with it the sanctity of the oak, of which the parasite has become the carrier? And if we were right in detecting at Delphi an original Oak-Apollo, will it not follow that we may also expect to come across cases of a Poplar-Apollo, or of an Apollo of the apple-tree? Whichever kind of mistletoe is the original Golden Bough, it is clear that in England we chiefly know the mistletoe on the apple-tree, while in Brittany one is constantly reminded of its presence on the poplar. So we will make quest of the various forms in which Apollo may appear.

First of all we ask for traces of poplar sanctity and of association of the tree with Apollo. Here again we are indebted to the investigations of Mr. A. B. Cook, who, without making use of the mistletoe as a link, had detected a transfer of the Oak-Apollo to the Poplar-Apollo. He states his case as follows in the *European Sky-god* (p. 419):—

“We have seen him as an oak-god. It remains to see him as a poplar-god. A Roman coin of Alexandria Troas shows Apollo Σμινθεύς standing before a poplar-tree with a tripod in front of him. Another coin of Apollonia Illyria, struck by Caracalla, represents the statue of Apollo inside his temple, behind which appear

the tops of three poplar-trees.¹ Apollo, then, in several of the most primitive cults, was connected with the oak or poplar, the αἴγειρος, a word which meant 'oak' before it meant 'poplar'."

(He compares *aesculus* = *aeg-sculus*.)

Finally, Mr. Cook argues that the name Apollo in its primitive form *Apellon*, is to be explained by a gloss of Hesychius that ἀπελλόν· αἴγειρος ὃ ἐστὶ εἶδος δένδρον, i.e. *Apellon*, a *poplar*, a *kind of tree*. We shall return to this derivation later.

We have now shown that there is some reason for the belief in a vegetable-Apollo, connected with the oak, and its surrogates the poplar and the laurel. In the case of the laurel, the connection is probably through the fire-stick, in the case of the poplar through the mistletoe. Next let us ask whether there is any probability that the mistletoe carried its sanctity to the apple-tree. Is that also to be described as a vegetable-Apollo? Shall we look for an apple-Apollo as another form of the mistletoe-Apollo, and comparable with the Ivy Dionysos? From inscriptions found at Epidaurus, we actually recover what looks like an Apollo of the apple-tree in the form Apollo Μαλεάτης (from μαλέα, an apple-tree). Usener makes the parallel for us with Dionysos συκεάτης from συκέα, and δενδρίτης from δένδρον. The word can only mean a god of the apple-tree: that is, it is derived from μῆλον (Latin *malum*).² As, however, Maleates is thrown into the Asklepios-cult by its occurrence in Epidaurus, attempt has been made to derive it in a geographical sense, from Malea, supposed to be a centre of Asklepios worship. The name is, however, too widely diffused for this, or similar, location.

It turns up again, without the attached Apollo, in an inscription, τῶι Μαλεάται, from Selinus;³ and in the temple of Asklepios at Athens sacrifice was made first to Maleates and then to Apollo. Thus the three deities Apollo, Maleates, and Asklepios are again in connection with one another. Usener thinks that the two cults of Apollo and Maleates have been fused; they are almost united in the

¹ The identification of the numismatic trees is not quite certain.

² It cannot come from μῆλον a sheep, for this has no form μᾶλον corresponding to it in dialect.

³ The inscription is IGA. 57. Note also the term Μαλοφόρος (? for Demeter) in the temple of Apollo at Selinus (Roscher *Lex.*, ii. 2306).

Athenian ritual. It would be simpler to say that the Cult of Apollo the Healer has reached Athens on two different lines.¹

This is not the whole of the evidence : there are traces of an Apollo Μαλοεῖς, which must surely be related to Apollo Maleates ; in an inscription from Lesbos (IGI. ii. 484) we find as follows :—

τᾶς
τε Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος
Μαλ(οέ)ντος ἀρχίχορον καὶ ἱε-
ροκάρυκα τῶν γερέων.

It seems then, natural to conclude that we have evidence to warrant us in a belief in an Apollo of the Apple-tree.²

With regard to the occurrence of both Apollo and Maleates at Athens, Farnell justly observes³ that “two sacrifices to the same divinity under different names are not infrequently prescribed in the same ritual code”. He thinks, however, that the objection made on the ground of quantity holds : “the verses of Isyllos have this value, if no other, that they prove that the first vowel in Μαλεάτης was short ; we must abandon . . . the supposition that the term could designate the ‘god of sheep’ or the ‘god of the apple-tree’”. So he looks for a geographical explanation either from Cape Malea at the South of Laconia, or an obscure place of the same name in Arcadia. The solution does not seem to me to be satisfactory : it does not explain the duplication of Apollo and Maleates, nor find ground for the diffusion of the title ; it leaves Apollo Maloeis still in obscurity, and loses sight of the parallel with Dionysos Sukeates. Probably some other explanation may be found of the short vowel in the Paean of Isyllos : the progression of the accent in Maleates might have something to do with it.

The actual passage in Isyllos is as follows :—

¹ The inscription is CIA. ii. 3, n. 1651. We should consult for the foregoing Wilamowitz, *Isyllos*, pp. 87, 89 ff., and Preller-Robert, *Gk. Myth.* i. 252. The latter says the cult exists at Sparta as well as Epidaurus, and suggests a Thessalian origin. (?)

² The inscription will be found in Conze, *Tab.* XVIII. 1. Bechtel, *Dialektinschr.* n. 255. Hoffmann, n. 168. Gruppe objects to the apple-tree, apparently on the ground that the first *a* in Μαλεάτης is short. But *vide infra*.

³ *Cults*, iv. 237.

οὐδέ κε Θεσσαλίας ἐν Τρίκκῃ πειραθείης
 εἰς ἄδντον καταβὰς Ἀσκληπίου, εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ἄγνου
 πρῶτον Ἀπόλλωνος βωμοῦ θύσαις Μαλεάτα.

Isyllos himself derives the epithet Maleates from an eponymous *Mâlos*, whose name he scans with a long *αῖρῃα* in the very same line in which *Μαλεάτα* is introduced, as follows :—

πρῶτος Μᾶλος ἔτευξεν Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλεάτα
 βῶμον κτέ.

There is, therefore, no reason against our scanning the end of the line as

βωμοῦ θύσαις Μᾶλεᾶτᾱ

with spondaic ending and synizesis of the vowels (compare the spondaic ending of the first of the lines quoted above).

There seems to be no reason for ruling out the form *Μᾶλεάτης* in the way that Gruppe and Farnell get rid of it. Moreover, there are other possible explanations, though perhaps none is so probable as the one which is given above.

We must not forget that we have definite proof that the apple-tree was sacred at Delphi to the god Apollo. That comes out from a passage in Lucian's *Anacharsis*¹ where Solon explains that the prizes in athletic contests are "At Olympia a wreath of wild olive, at the Isthmus one of pine, at Nemea of parsley, at *Pytho* some of the god's sacred apples". It will be difficult to ignore this bit of evidence; Farnell (p. 134) admits that "the laurel, the plane-tree, the tamarisk, *even the apple-tree*, are sacred to him," and that "some of his appellatives (!) are derived from them".

The statement of Lucian may be illustrated (as Mr. A. B. Cook suggests to me) from a Delphian coin which shows the apples on the victor's table. We shall refer presently to the silver dish from Corbridge on the Tyne, containing, perhaps, a variant version of the *Judgment of Paris*, with the scene laid at Delphi, and Apollo, on that supposition, in the place of Paris. In this representation, we have the apple depicted on the altar of the god. On one altar we have certainly the Delphic apple: on the other we either have two apples, with a flame between them, or as



PLATE II.—COIN
OF DELPHI.

¹ *Anacharsis*, 9.

Mr. A. B. Cook thinks, two fire-fenders evolved out of a pair of archaic ritual horns. One apple suffices me for the desired cult-symbol. As to the meaning of the silver dish from the North of England, we shall have more to say presently.

To Mr. Cook I am also indebted for a couple of valuable confirmations of the theory of a cult-relation between Apollo and the apple.

The first is from the coins of Eleutherna in Crete, which have on one side a nude Apollo standing, with a round object in his right hand and a bow in his left.¹ This round object is commonly taken to be a stone; but Mr. Cook is almost certain, from a copper coin of Eleutherna in his own possession, showing Apollo with an apple in his hand, that the round object referred to is an apple.²



PLATE III. —
COIN OF EL-
EUTHERNA IN
CRETE.

The next piece of evidence is more difficult to interpret. There was a famous sanctuary of Apollo, near Klazomenai, known as the Grynæan grove. The name was apparently derived from Grynus, an oak-stump, and is suggestive of the original connection of Apollo with the oak-tree. In this Grynæan grove was a tree bearing apples, which was the centre of a dispute between Mopsos and Colchas, who divined the number of apples on the tree. Note the connection of the sacred apple-tree with the sanctuary of Apollo.³

To the foregoing we may, perhaps, add the story which Antoninus Liberalis tells of the metamorphosis of the virgin Ktesulla into a white dove. This young lady was dancing at the Pythian festival by the altar of Apollo, and a certain Hermochares became enamoured of her, and sent a declaration of love inscribed on an apple. We see again the prominence given to the apple at Delphi, in the Pythian Festival, not only to the apple as the symbol of the god, but as a means of divination. Apparently what Hermochares did was to write on the apple the oracular statement that "You will wed an Athenian named Hermochares"; then he opened negotiations with the young lady's father, being previously unknown to either. This custom of

¹ Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne*. Macon, 1890, p. 138 f., pl. 12, 18 f.

² Cf. B.M. Cat. Crete, pl. 8, 12 f.

³ *Myth. Vat.* i. 194. Serv. in Verg. *Ecl.* 6, 72.

writing an oracle upon an apple for subsequent elucidation is well known to us from the *Judgment of Paris*, with its apple inscribed *To the Fair*. Divination by apples still survives in out-of-the-way corners. An old English custom is to peel an apple spirally, and throw the skin over your head without breaking it. The fate and shape of the projected apple-paring will tell your fortune in love, and reveal by its curves the name of your true lord or lady. Here it is in verse from the poet Gay :—¹

This mellow pippin which I pare around
My shepherd's name shall flourish on the ground.
I fling th' unbroken paring o'er my head,
Upon the grass a perfect L is read.

L stands for Lubberkin the desired shepherd.

My lady friends tell me they still practise this method of divination, which commonly results in an oracular S for their shepherd's name.

To the previous reasoning an objection may be made that the action of Hermochares in throwing the apple is nothing more than a conventional love-token. For example, here are cases of such love-apple throwing from the Greek Anthology :—

No. 78.

τῷ μῆλῳ βάλλω σε · σὺ δ' εἰ μὲν ἐκοῦσα φίλεις με,
δεξαμένη τῆς σῆς παρθενίης μετάδος ·
εἰ δ' ἄρ' ὁ μὴ γίγνοιτο νοεῖς, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ λαβοῦσα,
σκέψαι τὴν ὥρην ὡς ὀλιγοχρόνιος.

No. 79.

Μῆλον ἐγὼ · βάλλει με φιλῶν σέ τις · ἀλλ' ἐπίνευσον,
Ξανθίππη · καγὼ καὶ σὺ μαραινόμεθα.

In each of these epigrams the apple is the love-token thrown by the man at the woman, with the warning that rejected love means fading beauty, the apple being in that case the symbol of decay which answers to the roses in the lines :—

Gather the roses while you may,
Old time is still a-flying, etc.

No doubt the custom of love-making by apple-throwing existed. At

¹ Gay, *The Shepherd's Week*. (The custom referred to is not confined to the British Isles; I have noted it in Norway and in Mesopotamia. It is a very old folk-custom.)

the same time, this does not quite meet the case of Hermochares and Ktesulla at the Pythian Festival. Here the apple is sacred as well as amatory, and we naturally expect an oracle. The custom for the gods to write decrees and oracles on fruit is not confined to Greek life. For example, in a painting on one of the rooms in the Memnonium, Rameses the second is seen seated under a persea-tree, on the fruits of which the supreme deity as Ra-Tum, the goddess of wisdom, and the sacred scribe (Thoth) are writing the name of the Pharaoh. Again, at Medinet Habou, Thothmes III is led before the tree of life by Hathor and Thoth, and on the fruits of the tree the god Amon-Ra is seen to be inscribing a sacred formula.¹

So here again we have the custom of writing oracles on fruits : and we infer that if the love-passage between Hermochares and Ktesulla had been a mere case of apple-throwing there would have been no reference to an inscription and no allusion to the Pythian Festival,² nor to the temple of Artemis into which the apple was thrown.

Here is another interesting confirmation of the connection between Apollo and the apple, and the diviner's art. In a Patmos scholion to a passage in Thucydides the object of which is to explain the title *Μαλόεις* as applied to Apollo, we are told that there was a young woman, a daughter of Teiresias, whose name was Manto ; when she was dancing one day, she lost a golden apple out of her necklace, and being sad over its loss she vowed that if she ever found it, she would establish a shrine in honour of Apollo ; this actually happened, and

¹ Joret, *Les Plantes dans l'Antiquité*, i. 262.

² For further reference with regard to apple-throwing see Gaidoz, *La requisition d'amour et le symbolisme de la pomme* (École pratique des sciences historiques et philologiques, 1902). B. O. Foster, *Notes on the Symbolism of the Apple in Classical Antiquity*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Antiquity*, x. 39 ff. For the foregoing and other references I am not a little indebted to Mr. A. B. Cook. Gaidoz shows that in the Irish story of Condla the Red, a fairy throws the hero an apple. He now goes without food or drink for a month, living only on the magic apple, which grows again as fast as it is eaten. See also Vergil, *Ecl.* 3, 64, for apple-throwing by the nymph Galatea :—

Malo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella,
Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.

But this is from Theocritus.

Apollo was worshipped accordingly under the title of Apollo Maloeis. Note the recurrent features in the story : the young lady is a priestess of Apollo ; while her name (Manto) and her parentage (Teiresias) alike show that she is skilled in the art of the diviner. She is ornamented with a necklace of golden apples, to which it is natural to ascribe a religious significance ; they are symbolic of the ritual and of the god to whose service she is attached.¹

We may be asked parenthetically at this point, whether, in view of the use of the apple for purposes of divination, and the occurrence of the apple as a sacred symbol in the Cult of Apollo, we ought not to regard the famous *Judgment of Paris* as a modification of a previous *Judgment of Apollo*. The name by which Paris is commonly known in the Iliad is Alexandros, which need not be interpreted martially, as the Defender of other men, but is capable of bearing the meaning ἀλεξίκακος, which Macrobius says is given to Apollo, the Averter, i.e. of witchcrafts, poisons, etc.

Now it is not a little curious that we actually are said to have an artistic version of the apple-judgment in which Apollo takes the place of Paris, and makes the interpretation of the oracle inscribed on his own apple. The representation in question is upon a silver dish to which we have already referred, found at Corbridge near the Roman Wall in the year 1735. It will be found described by Professor Percy Gardner in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1915, Pt. I, pp. 66-75. It represents a scene at Delphi, with the three great goddesses of the judgment in the centre, flanked on the left by Artemis (who seems to occupy the position of Hermes) and on the right by Apollo, with his bow in one hand, and his lyre at his back. It is certainly surprising that the scene of the judgment should be laid at Delphi and not on Mt. Ida. Is it really a *Judgment of Paris*, as

¹ The passage is as follows (see *Rev. de Phil.* i. 185):—

Μάντω ἡ Τειρεσίου περὶ τοὺς τόπους χωρεύουσα
τούτους μήλον χρυσοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιδεραίου ἀπώλεσεν·
εὔξατο οὖν, εἰ εὔροι, ἱερὸν ἰδρύσειν τῷ θεῷ.
εὔρουσα δὲ τὸ μήλον τὸ ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο, καὶ
Μαλοεῖς Ἀπόλλων ἐντεῦθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐτιμᾶτο.

The same incident is referred to by Stephanos Byzantios, s.v. Μαλλόεις (sic), who took his information from the *Lesbika* of Hellanikos:—

Μαλλόεις· Ἀπόλλων ἐν Λέσβῳ· καὶ ὁ τόπος τοῦ ἱεροῦ Μαλλόεις,
ἀπὸ τοῦ μήλου τῆς Μαντούς, ὡς Ἑλλανικὸς ἐν Λεσβικῶν πρώτῳ.

has been suggested? Upon this Professor Gardner remarks as follows:—

“The difficulty will be raised that the scene of judgment is not Ida but Delphi, and Apollo takes the place of Paris as judge. Apollo is certainly at home in his chief shrine. The Altar at his feet and the griffin indicate Delphi, and the fountain Castalia is symbolized by the vase to the left, where a rocky ground is clearly indicated. . . . It seems paradoxical to cite as a representation of the *Judgment of Paris* a scene where Paris does not appear . . . and where Delphi and not Ida is set forth as the place of the event. But we are justified in doing this because we have proof in several of the vases of Italian origin, that in one of the versions of the myth current in Hellenistic times Paris was thus superseded by Apollo.

“We have first a vase at Vienna of the fourth century B.C. on which, though Paris is present, the scene is shown to be Delphi, by the presence of Apollo leaning against his laurel, and a tripod. Later Paris disappears, as on an Apulian vase, where we have the three goddesses and Hermes, but no Paris, at Delphi, which is indicated by the sacred omphalos, and on either side of the omphalos we have figures of Zeus and Apollo. Apollo is seated as one at home, and Zeus is addressing him, evidently referring to him the point in dispute. . . . On another Italian vase, where the scene is still Delphi, as is shown by the presence of the omphalos, Zeus and not Apollo is seated on a throne as arbiter.”

Professor Gardner suggests that these monuments do represent an actual shifting of the tradition which he takes to be a shifting from Paris, who actually judges, to Apollo who ought to judge. At all events, it is clear that the Corbridge dish is not to be treated as containing a representation belonging to a silversmith of the third century A.D.,¹ but as containing a tradition of a much earlier period. And the question arises whether, if the theme has rightly been identified, the real shifting of the tradition is not in the opposite direction to that assumed by Professor Gardner, in view of the fact which we have brought to light that the apple which, with its oracle, is the real centre of the tradition, belongs to Apollo and should naturally be

¹ “It clearly is the work,” says Professor Gardner, “not of an inventive artist but of a long-established and well-trained school. In its fabric we can see the results of many generations of trained artificers.”

subject to his interpretation. The objection to this will be the well-attested antiquity of the Paris tradition. It is a very strong objection, but not a vital one, in view of the known persistence of folk-lore variants side by side with the canonical forms of the legend.

There is, however, a further possibility which may have to be reckoned with. Paris himself may be a duplicate Apollo who has either lost celestial rank or never quite attained to it, some primitive herb or herbalist, an *ἀλεξιφάρμακος*, of the Apolline order, just as Helen, whom he espouses, is suspect of being an original vegetable-deity. This would require that Paris also had an original apple-tree, on which oracles could be written. The problem is not yet capable of evaluation. I incline to believe that the solution lies in a displacement of Apollo (perhaps in his shepherd life) by the shepherd of Mt. Ida. To hold this opinion, it is not necessary to accept Professor Gardner's identification of the scene depicted on the Corbridge dish. That might be merely a group of Delphic deities, with associated cult-symbols, and need not have any historical or quasi-historical meaning.

If we have found our apple-god, we must not leave the consideration of this part of the subject without venturing at least a suggestion as to the reason for finding the apple-god in the neighbourhood of Asklepios. It may have arisen from the simple fact that, to the ancients, mistletoe and ivy both had medical value. The mistletoe, in particular, was almost a panacea; and ivy retained its medical value nearly to our own times, as we have seen above from Gerard's *Herball*. This is not in the least affected by the fact that both plants are medically worthless! If one wants to see the value of mistletoe, let him visit the Ainu of Japan, and ask what they think of it. Here is a reference from Mr. Batchelor's book, *The Ainu and their Folk-Lore* (p. 222):—

"The Ainu, like many nations of Northern origin, hold the mistletoe in peculiar veneration. They look upon it as a medicine, *good in almost every disease*, and it is sometimes taken in food and at others separately as a decoction. . . . The mistletoe which grows upon the willow is supposed to have the greatest efficacy. This is because the willow is looked upon by them as being a specially sacred tree."

That is a very good specimen of how primitive medicine is

evolved. Perhaps Apollo owes his healing art to his connection with the mistletoe ! For it is not only in far distant Saghalién or Japan that the mistletoe is regarded as a panacea. Pliny (H.N. 16, 44, 95) reports that the Druids called it in their language *omnia sanantem*: which, according to Grimm is the Welsh *olhiach* or *all-heal*.¹ Thus East and West, which are supposed never to meet, are united in their medical judgment.

The way to test this statement of the medical value of the mistletoe is to consult the early medical writers, and the best way to approach them is through the early Herbals, of which we have already given a striking example in the use of ivy and of ground-ivy. It must be remembered that the medicine of which we speak is coloured on the one hand by astrological influences (each herb having its own planet), and on the other by the doctrine of sympathies.

Suppose, then, we turn to Culpepper's Herbal, and see what he says about mistletoe :—²

“(Mistletoe) *Government and Virtues*. This is under the dominion of the Sun, I do not question ; and can also take for granted that which grows upon oaks participates something of the nature of Jupiter, because an oak is one of his trees ; as also that which grows upon pear-trees and apple-trees participates something of his nature, because he rules the tree that it grows upon, having no root of its own. But why that should have most virtues that grows upon oaks I know not, unless because it is rarest and hardest to come by. . . . Clusius affirms that which grows upon pear-trees to be as prevalent, and gives order that it should not touch the ground after it is gathered ; and also saith that, being hanged about the neck, it remedies witchcraft.”

How redolent of antiquity this bit of folk-medicine is ! The mistletoe shows its solar virtue ; its connection with the sky-god through the oak in which the sky-god dwells ; and its transfer of its sanctity from the oak-tree to the apple, and it has, beside specific curative powers, the function of averting evil, in the comprehensive terms of witchcraft. Moreover, in a secondary sense, the sky-god

¹ The matter is discussed at length in Frazer, G.B. xi. 77 *sqq.*

² I quote from the edition of 1815 (p. 116), the first edition is, I believe, 1653. It follows Gerard and other Herbalists, but has many observations and bits of traditions of its own, some of them evidently of great antiquity.

and his power, resides in apple-tree and in pear-tree ; and Culpepper (or Clusius whom he quotes) might almost be a Druid in his care for the gathering of his medicine and his prohibition against its falling on the ground. It is just such a passage as the one we have quoted that brings out the parallelism between the mistletoe and the god Apollo, and helps us to see the latter as a projection from the former and from the tree on which it grows.

Those persons who tried to explain Apollo as the Averter were certainly right in fact, whatever they might have been in philology, for it is an exact description of the functions of the mistletoe, as well as the primitive belief of the early worshippers of the god in Grecian lands : and we see again that the plant is the real healer and the god its reflection.

It is very interesting to watch how medicine has evolved from the stage of the herbalist with his all-heal or panacea to that of the scientific man with his highly differentiated remedies. The progress of medicine has been phenomenally slow. In the eighteenth century it was still necessary in England to warn the domestic practitioner that the same herb would not cure all diseases or even the greater part of them. Here is an interesting passage from a medical herbalist, John Hill, M.D., a member of the Imperial Academy, who writes in the year 1770 on the *Virtues of British Herbs*, with an account of the diseases that they will cure.

P. viii : "This knowledge is not to be sought for in the old Herbals ; they contain but a small part of it : and what they hold is locked up in obscurity. They are excessive in their praises ; and in saying too much they say nothing. *All virtues are, in a manner, attributed to all Plants*, and 'tis the skill alone of a Physician that can separate in those that have any, which is the true. Turn to the Herbals of Gerard, Parkinson, or the more antient Turner, and you shall find in many instances, virtues of the most exalted kind related to Herbs, which, if you were to eat daily as sallads, would cause no alteration in the body." If we may judge from early Greek or modern Ainu medicine, the mistletoe should come under the historical judgment which Dr. Hill enunciates.

Now let us turn to the region of philology and see if we can find out the meaning of the name Apollo.

According to Gruppe, Apollon is Ionic, but the Greek dialects

show that there was originally an E in the place of O. Thus, we have, following Plato, the form Ἀπλοῦν in Thessaly ; and we find Ἀπειλων (which is clearly for Ἀπελίων) in Cyprus ; Ἀπέλλων is reported for Dreros and Knossos. The earlier form is commonly held to be involved in the name of the Macedonian Month Ἀπελλαῖος. The Oscan form is *Appellun* (Usener, *Götternamen*, 308), and the Etruscan is *Aplu*, *Aplun*, or *Apulu*.¹ We need not spend time over the Greek attempts to explain a word of which they had lost the meaning. No one would now propose a derivation from ἀπολύω or ἀπόλλυμι, or ἀπελαύνω. The only ancient derivation which finds any favour to-day is Macrobius' explanation :² "ut Apollinem apellentem intellegas, quem Athenienses ἀλεξίκακον appellant". This explanation of Apollo as the *Averter*, from a lost Greek stem corresponding to the Latin *pello* is, I believe, the one that finds most favour to-day.

But why should we not affirm a simpler solution, if we are to go outside the covers of the Greek lexicon ? The Greeks, and in part the Latins, had no primitive word for apple : malum and pomus are philologically afterthoughts. What hinders our saying that *Apellon* is simply *apple* ? We should, then, understand at a glance the title *Apollo Maleates*, and the curious duplication of Apollo and Maleates in the Asklepios cult in Athens.

The professional etymologists do not know anything about the origin of our word *apple*. Skeat, in his *Etym. Dict.*, gives us the following :—

- “ M.E. *appel*, *appil*.
 A.S. *aepl*, *aeppel*.
 O. Fries. } *appel*.
 Du. }
 Icel. *epli*.
 Swed. *äple*, *äpple*.
 Dan. *aeble*.
 OHG. *aphol*, *aphul*.
 G. *apfel*.
 Irish. *abhal*.

¹ See Corssen, *Sprache der Etrusker*, i. 820.
 Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 17, 14 ff.

Gael. *ubhal*.

Welsh. *afal*.

Bret. *aval*.

cf. also

Russ. *jabloko*.

Lith. *obolys*, etc."

and then remarks, "origin unknown : some connect it with Abella in Campania : cf. Verg. *Aen.* vii. 740. This is not satisfactory." Thus Skeat : but perhaps without doing justice to the Vergilian reference ; when Vergil speaks of *maliferae moenia Abellae*, we need not derive apple from Abella, but it is quite conceivable that the city may be derived philologically from its fruit. We will return to this point presently.

My suggestion, then, is that the name Apollo (Apellon) came from the North, the region of the Hyperboreans to which tradition refers the god ; and that it is the exact equivalent of the apple-tree. We are dealing with a borrowed cult, and with a loan-word. If this can be maintained without violence to philological considerations, it will harmonise exactly with the parallel case of Dionysos, and with the investigations which have led us to the hypothesis of an apple-tree god. It will explain what has sometimes caused perplexity, the want of any parallel to Apollo in the Northern religions. He is really there both as sacred apple-tree and as mistletoe, but is not personified, unless he should turn out to be Balder.

It may, perhaps, be asked whether the interpretation suggested will not require one or two other re-interpretations. For example, the month Apellaeus in the Macedonian calendar is commonly interpreted as Apollo's month, on the analogy of Dios as the month of Zeus. There is, however, a possibility that it may mean apple-month, just as Lenaeon means vintage-month. I have not, however, as yet succeeded in finding an ancient calendar with an apple-month in it.¹ The actual position of the month Apellaeus in the Macedonian calendar is also not quite clear. It may be September or October, but it may be later. At Delphi it appears to be the first month of the year and has been equated with June.

¹ There is an apple-month in Byzantium, by the name *Μαλοφόριος* equated with the Attic-month Pyanepsion, i.e. September or October. See Bischoff, *De fastis Gr. antiq.*, 374.

Another question that may be asked relates to that part of Italy, on the Adriatic side, which goes by the name of Apulia. It is generally held that this is a name given to the country by Greek colonists, who named it after their god. The form is very near to the Etruscan spelling (Aplu, Apulun), but we should have expected something more like Apollonia if the god were meant. There is, moreover, a question whether it may not have been named apple-land, much in the same way as the Norse navigators gave the name of Vinland to the part of the American coast which they discovered, perhaps at a time when the wild grapes were ripe. There is another very interesting parallel that may be adduced in this connection. When King Arthur died, he was carried away to the islands of the blessed, to the island of Avalon or Avilion : the name is Celtic, very nearly the Breton form for apple.¹ And it was an apple-country to which Arthur was carried, a fact which Tennyson has versified for us :—

The island valley of Avilion,
Where falls not rain, or hail or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly, but it lies
Deep-meadowed, happy, *fair with orchard-lawns.*

It is, then, quite possible that the name Apulia was given by Greek settlers, not from religious motives, but in harmony with their first observations of the products of the country. Here, however, as in the case of the month Apellaeus, we are at present in the region of unsupported conjecture.

We have inferred that Apollo is a loan-word in Greek derived from a Northern name for the apple.

Now let us return to the point which came up in regard to the suggested derivation of apple from *Abella* in Campania. Our contention is that the derivation is in the reverse order, and that *Abella* is an apple-town, just as, for example, Appledore in N. Devon. The difficulty in the former supposition is that all the sound-changes in the various words for *apple* from Lithuania to Ireland are perfectly regular ; so that we should have to assume that the form *Abal* was borrowed by the Celts in one of their early Italian invasions and transferred to the Northern nations, before the characteristic sound-changes had been produced. It seems much easier to suggest that

¹ See Friend, *Flowers and Flower-lore*, i. 199.

the motion has been in the opposite direction, and that the Celts brought the word into Italy, instead of discovering the fruit there, and naming it after the place where they found it. In which connection we note that Vergil, who has spoken of the "walls of apple-bearing Abella," goes on to speak of the un-Italian martial habits of the people of Abella, who follow the warriors of the North in their military customs :—

Et quos maliferae despectant moenia Abellae,
Teutonico ritu soliti torquere cateias.

Aen. vii. 740, 1.

The original settlers of Abella may conceivably have been Celts. O. Schrader puts the case as follows for the borrowing of the fruit by the Celts :—

"As the names of most of our fruit trees come from the Latin : cherry (*cerasus*), fig (*ficus*), pear (*pirus*), mulberry (*morus*), plum (*prunus*), etc.—I would rather assume that the names of the apple . . . are to be derived from Italy, from a town of fruitful Campania, celebrated for the cultivation of fruit-trees, *Abella*, modern *Avella Vecchia*. Here the cultivation of another fruit, the nut, was so important that *abellana* sc. *nux* = *nux*. In the same way the Irish *aball* . . . may have come from *malum abellanium* as the German *birschen* comes from *malum persicum*. . . .

"Attractive, however, as this derivation is, as regards the facts, I do not disguise from myself that phonetically the regularity with which Ir. *b* (*aball*), Dutch *p* (Eng. *apple*), H.G. *pf* (*apfel*), Lith. *b* (*óbulas*) correspond to each other, is disturbing in a set of loan-words. In Teutonic, especially, there seem to be no Latin loan-words which have been subjected to the First Sound-shifting. I assume, accordingly, that the Celts, as early as their inroad into Italy, took into their language a word corresponding to the Irish *aball*, which spread to the Teutons before the First Sound-shifting, and thence to the other Northern members of the Indo-Germanic family" (*Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, trans. by F. B. Jevons. Lond. 1890, p. 276).

Some years later Schrader went further with the inquiry, and admitted that "it was possible that, after all, *Abella* might be originally related to the North European names for the apple, and that the place might be named after the fruit and not the fruit

after the place"¹ (*Real-Lexikon der indogermanischen Altertums*. Strassburg, 1901, 43).

It would seem to be involved in the preceding argument that the fundamental characteristic of the Cult of Apollo is to be sought in the region of medicine ; to put it in the language of mythology, that he was Paian before he was Apollo. Assuming that Paian or Paion is the proper term to be applied to a god of healing, as to Zeus, Asklepios, Apollo, or Dionysos, we have to look for the origin of the Healer in the plant that heals. Zeus and Asklepios will be healers through the links that bind them to the oak and the magic mistletoe : Dionysos will become medical because he is ivy, and ivy has great prominence in primitive medicine, for reasons which we have explained. The case of Apollo considered as a healer who personifies a healing plant, may be a little more complex ; we have shown how he is connected with the mistletoe and the apple-tree ; and also with the laurel ; there are suspicions, however, that he may be also connected with the peony, or Paian-flower, of which folk-medicine has so much to say. Then there is the curious tradition that, in the country of the Hyperboreans, there was a sacred garden dedicated to Apollo, and a worship of the god the priesthood of which cult was in the hands of the family of Boreads. Was this garden merely an apple-orchard with mistletoe growing on the trees, or may it not be possible that the peony and other sacred plants with solar virtues may have been tended within its enclosures ?

Our knowledge of this garden comes from a fragment of Sophocles (probably from the tragedy of *Oreithyia*), in which the poet speaks of the capture of the maiden *Oreithyia* by the god of the North Wind, who carries her away to the farthest bourne of earth and heaven, *to the ancient garden of Apollo*. Strabo, who is discussing the geographical distribution of the Goths and Germans, turns aside to speak contemptuously of those who mythologize about the Land at the Back of the North Wind, and the deeds that are done there, such as the capture of *Oreithyia* by Boreas. The lines of Sophocles

¹ Precisely the same conclusion is reached, but with a more positive statement, by Hoops in *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen in germanischen Alterthum* (Strassburg, 1905, p. 477 ff.). Feist, on the other hand, thinks the question must be left undecided (*Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*. Berlin, 1913, p. 190).

which he quotes are, however, of the first value to us. They show that Apollo was a Hyperborean god ; and that his sanctuary was in a garden. This was the kind of god that came in with one of the great migrations from the North. He brought his vegetable counterparts with him ; certainly the sacred apple came South, as we have shown from the worship of Delphi, and perhaps some other sacred plants. In this far Northern land, in some Island of the Blest, the deity was under the priestly care of the Boread family ;¹ perhaps in the first instance the cult was presided over by priestesses, Snow-maidens, of whom the White maidens of Delos may be taken as the representatives. Their male counterparts are the Sons of Boreas. If we have rightly divined the meaning of the White maidens of the North, Hyperoche and Laodike, who were the primitive Delian saints, we must allow that the heroes Hyperochos and Laodikos, whose shrines are in the sacred enclosure at Delphi, are a pair of Boreads, who, further North and in earlier days, would have been the priests of the sanctuary. The actual passage of Strabo, with the fragment of Sophocles, to which we have been referring is as follows :

Strabo, vii. p. 295. Nauck, *Fragg. Trag. Gr.* ed. 2, p. 333 : οὐδὲ γὰρ εἴ τινα Σοφοκλῆς τραγωδεῖ περὶ τῆς Ὀρειθυίας, λέγων ὡς ἀναρπαγεῖσα ὑπὸ Βορέου κομισθεῖη

ὑπὲρ τε πόντον πάντ' ἐπ' ἔσχατα χθονός
νυκτός τε πηγὰς οὐρανοῦ τ' ἀναπτυχάς,
Φοίβου παλαιὸν κῆπον,

οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πρὸς τὸ νῦν, ἀλλὰ ἐατέον.

For κῆπον in the third line some editors propose to emend σηκόν, because, as Miss Harrison says, they did not understand it ! Certainly the garden must stand, and it is the sacred garden of old-time, in the land of the Hyperboreans, to which ancient garden a modern garden at Delphi must have corresponded.

We may confirm our previous observation that the "garden of Apollo" was a real garden and probably a medical garden in the following way :—

We learn from Aristides Rhetor that the goddess Hygieia, who is commonly looked upon as a feminine counterpart of Asklepios, but

¹ Diodore, 2, 47, μυθολογοῦσι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ [τῇ νήσῳ] τὴν Ἀθητὴν γεγεῖναι· διὸ καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμᾶται κτέ.

who is in reality an independent young lady who lives next door to him and manages her own affairs, had such a medical garden as we have been speaking of. *To these gardens the sons of Asklepios were taken to be reared after their birth.* Nothing could be clearer, they were medical gardens. The first doctors must have been herbalists. This striking instance confirms us in our previous statements about the garden of Apollo.¹ We see also the importance of folk-medicine in theology. The history of one overlaps the history of the other.

There are also traces of sacred gardens belonging to Artemis, and to Hecate (who is in some points of view almost the feminine counterpart of Apollo and a double of Artemis). For the former we may refer to the garlands which Hippolytus gathers for the goddess from a garden into which none but the initiate may enter (Eur. *Hipp.* 73 *sqq.*): for the latter (a real witch's garden full of magic plants), we have the description and botanical summary in the Orphic *Argonautika*, 918 *sqq.*

In the Corbridge dish, to which we were alluding just now, the foreground is occupied by "a meadow in which plants grow". According to Percy Gardner, this meadow with its associated plants and animals is conventional. The objection to this is that the fount of Castaly is not conventional ornament; the animals represented are not conventional; the stag and the dog belong to the huntress Artemis, the griffin belongs to Apollo. If, then, the animals are cult figures, what of the plants? One of them appears to be a figure of a pair of mistletoe leaves, with the berries at the junction of the leaves;² the other is, perhaps, the peony. I should, therefore, suggest that the meadow in question is the medical garden of Apollo.

In conclusion of this brief study, it may be pointed out that we have emphasised strongly the Hyperborean origin of Apollo and his cult. There have been, from time to time, attempts to find the home of the god in more Southern regions, and with the aid of Semitic philology. The most seductive of such theories was one for which, I believe, Professor Hommel was responsible, that Apollo was a

¹ For the reference, see Aristides, vii. 1, ed. Dindorf, p. 73: *ομγενέ-
νους δὲ αὐτοὺς τρέφει ὁ πατήρ ἐν Ἰγυίᾳ κήποις.*

² We should have expected a slip of bay-tree, but the bay-tree leaves do not come off from the stalk in pairs, as the mistletoe leaves do.

Greek equivalent of Jabal or Jubal in the Book of Genesis : and the linguistic parallel between the names was certainly reinforced by the existence of Jubal's lyre, and by the occurrence of a sister in the tradition of the triad in Genesis. That such transfers are possible appears to be made out from the case of Palaimon, who is a Corinthian modification of Baal-yam, the Lord of the Sea. We are, however, satisfied as to the Northern origin of Apollo, just as we are satisfied, until very convincing considerations to the contrary are produced, of the Thracian origin of Dionysos. The argument of the previous pages proceeds from the known overlapping and similarity of the cults of the two deities in question. Neither can be detached from the Sky-father, nor from the oak and its surrogates. Each appears to be connected with the production of fire by means of fire-sticks ; in some respects this is the greatest of all human discoveries, and its history deserves a newer and more complete treatment. The connection of Apollo and Dionysos with the parasitic growths of the Sky-tree appears to be made out : and the parallelism between an Ivy-Dionysos and a Mistletoe-Apollo has been exhibited, with support from inscriptions. A new field has been opened out in the connection between early medicine and early religion, and it has been suggested that Apollo's reputation as a Healer, and Averter, may have a simple vegetable origin. A similar medical divinisation occurs in the case of the goddess Panakeia, the daughter of Asklepios ; her name is a simple translation of a vegetable " all-heal ".

Nothing further has been brought out as to the meaning of the associated Cult of Apollo's twin sister Artemis, beyond the suggestions which have already been made on the side of Twin Cult in my book *Boanerges*. There is evidently much more research needed into the origin and functions of the Great Huntress. Our next essay will, therefore, deal with the origin of the Cult of Artemis ; we shall approach it from the side of the related Cult of Apollo, and bring forward, incidentally, some further and perhaps final proofs of the correctness of our identification of Apollo with the Apple-tree.

THE INFLUENCE OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION IN THE EAST AND IN AMERICA.¹

BY G. ELLIOT SMITH, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., PROFESSOR OF ANATOMY IN THE VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

IN the lectures (2) which in former years I have delivered at the John Rylands Library, I discussed the problems of the gradual diffusion of Egypt's influence to the neighbouring parts of Africa, Asia, and the Eastern Mediterranean Islands and Coasts, which began at a very early historical period. On the present occasion I am calling attention to a mass of evidence which seems to prove that, towards the close of the period of the New Empire, or perhaps even a little later, a great many of the most distinctive practices of Egyptian civilization suddenly appeared in more distant parts of the coast-lines of Africa, Europe, and Asia, and also in course of time in Oceania and America; and to suggest that the Phœnicians must have been the chief agents in initiating the wholesale distribution of this culture abroad.

The Mediterranean has been the scene of so many conflicts between rival cultures that it is a problem of enormous complexity and difficulty to decipher the story of Egyptian influence in its much-scored palimpsest. For the purposes of my exposition it is easier to study its easterly spread, where among less cultured peoples it blazed its track and left a record less disturbed by subsequent developments than in the West. Mr. W. J. Perry has shown that once the easterly cultural migration has been studied the more complicated events in the West can be deciphered also.

The thesis I propose to submit for consideration, then, is (*a*) that the essential elements of the ancient civilizations of India, Further Asia, the Malay Archipelago, Oceania, and America were brought in succession to each of these places by mariners, whose oriental migrations

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, on 10th March, 1915. The numbers in brackets refer to the notes at the end.

(on an extensive scale) began as trading intercourse between the Eastern Mediterranean and India some time after 800 B.C. (and continued for many centuries [see (3) and (4)]); (*b*) that the highly complex and artificial culture which they spread abroad was derived largely from Egypt (not earlier than the XXI. Dynasty), but also included many important accretions and modifications from the Phœnician world around the Eastern Mediterranean, from East Africa (and the Soudan), Arabia, and Babylonia; (*c*) that, in addition to providing the haven which stimulated the development of the pre-Aryan civilization of India, the cultural stream to Burma, Indonesia, the eastern littoral of Asia and Oceania was in turn modified by Indian influences; and (*d*) that finally the stream, with many additions from Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia, as well as from China and Japan, continued for many centuries to play upon the Pacific littoral of America, where it was responsible for planting the germs of the remarkable Pre-Columbian civilization. The reality of these migrations and this spread of culture is substantiated (and dated) by the remarkable collection of extraordinary practices and fantastic beliefs which these ancient mariners distributed along a well-defined route from the Eastern Mediterranean to America. They were responsible for stimulating the inhabitants of the coasts along a great part of their extensive itinerary (*a*) to adopt the practice of mummification, characterized by a variety of methods, but in every place with remarkable identities of technique and associated ritual, including the use of incense and libations, a funerary bier and boat, and certain peculiar views regarding the treatment of the head, the practice of remodelling the features and the use of statues, the possibility of bringing the dead to life, and the wanderings of the dead and its adventures in the underworld; (*b*) to build a great variety of megalithic monuments, conforming to certain well-defined types which present essentially identical features throughout a considerable extent, or even the whole, of the long itinerary, and in association with these monuments identical traditions, beliefs, and customs; (*c*) to make idols in connexion with which were associated ideas concerning the possibility of human beings or animals living in stones, and of the petrification of men and women, the story of the deluge, of the divine origin of kings, who are generally the children of the sun or of the sky, and of the origin of the chosen people from incestuous unions; (*d*) to worship the sun and adopt in reference to this

deity a complex and arbitrary symbolism representing an incongruous grouping of a serpent in conjunction with the sun's disc equipped with a hawk's wings (Fig. 1), often associated also with serpent-worship or in other cases the belief in a relationship with or descent from serpents ; (*e*) to adopt the practices of circumcision, tattooing, massage, piercing and distending the ear-lobules, artificial deformation of the skull, and perhaps trephining, dental mutilations, and perforating the lips and nose ; (*f*) to practise weaving linen, and in some cases to make use of Tyrian purple, pearls, precious stones, and metals, and conch-shell trumpets, as well as the curious beliefs and superstitions attached to the latter ; (*g*) to adopt certain definite metallurgical methods, as well as mining ; (*h*) to use methods of intensive agriculture, associated with the use of terraced irrigation, the artificial terraces being retained with stone walls ; (*i*) to adopt certain phallic ideas and practices ; (*j*) to make use of the swastika symbol, and to adopt the idea that stone implements are thunder-teeth or thunderbolts and the beliefs associated with this conception ; (*k*) to use the boomerang ; (*l*) to hold certain beliefs regarding "the heavenly twins" ; (*m*) to practise couvade ; (*n*) to adopt the same games ; and (*o*) to display a special aptitude for and skill and daring in, maritime adventures, as well as to adopt a number of curiously arbitrary features of boat-building.

Many of the items in this list I owe to Mr. W. J. Perry, to whose co-operation and independent researches the conclusiveness of the case I am putting before you is due. But above all the credit is due to him of having so clearly elucidated the motives for the migrations and explained why the new learning took root in some places and not in others.

That this remarkable cargo of fantastic customs and beliefs was really spread abroad, and most of them at one and the same time, is shown by the fact that in places as far apart as the Mediterranean and Peru, as well as in many intermediate localities, these cultural ingredients were linked together in an arbitrary and highly artificial manner, to form a structure which it is utterly impossible to conceive as having been built up independently in different places.

The fact that some of the practices which were thus spread abroad were not invented in Egypt and Phœnicia until the eighth century B.C. makes this the earliest possible date for the commencement of the great wandering.

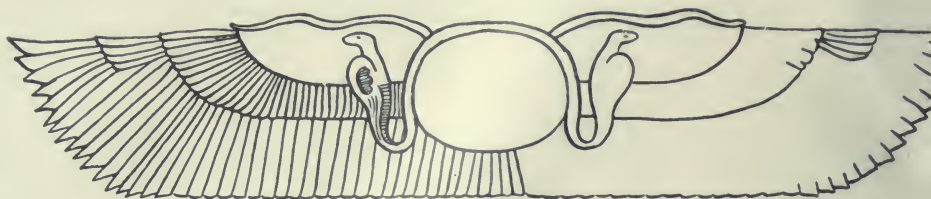


FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

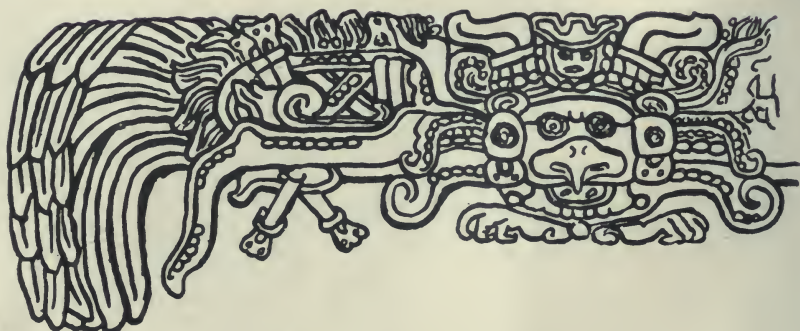


FIG. 4.

FIG. 1.—The winged disc from the lintel of the door of an Egyptian temple of the New Empire Period (see note 23).

Note the serpents' tails along the upper margin and the first stage of conventionalizing the body.

FIG. 2.—The Assyrian winged disc. The figure in the winged circle is the god Ahuramazda. This illustrates the widespread custom of replacing the disc by the dominant deity.

FIG. 3.—A portion of the winged disc found on the lintel of the door of a temple at Ococingo in Chiapas, from a drawing by Waldeck, which is supposed by Bancroft (from whose book I have borrowed it) to be restored in part from Waldeck's imagination (Bancroft, "The Native Races of the Pacific States," 1875, Vol. IV, p. 351). Whether this is so or not, sufficient of the real design was reproduced by Stephens and Calderwood ("Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan," London, 1854, p. 384) to show that it is a winged disc, clearly modelled on the well-known Egyptian design, Fig. 1, but reversed (upside down), as in a Syrian relief figured by Spamer (see Nuttall, *op. cit.*, p. 428). Spinden, however, states that it is not the disc, but the "Serpent-Bird". The serpents of the Egyptian design have become transformed in the Mexican example into a conventionalized geometrical pattern.

FIG. 4.—The "Serpent-Bird" or "Feathered Snake" god Kukulcan, from Tikal (after Maudslay and Joyce). A later and more highly "Americanized" representation of the winged disc and serpents. The god's face now replaces the disc, as in some of the Asiatic derivatives of the Egyptian design. The conventionalization of the serpent's "body" into a simple cross (the first stage of this process is found on the Egyptian monuments) is seen here as in the Ococingo design (Fig. 3). A striking confirmation of this interpretation is supplied by Maudslay, who has shown that the pattern below the cross (which I have identified as the snake's body) is really a very highly conventionalized serpent's head reversed. The original design for this head was a dragon presenting close analogies with those of both China and Babylonia. The artist has confused the head with the tail of the serpent and blended them into one design. Further modifications and transformations of the winged disc design are seen in America, as, for example, the stone relief at Chichen Itza, showing Kukulcan-Quetzacoatl (see Joyce, "Mexican Archæology," 1914, Fig. 87, p. 367).

In some of the earliest Egyptian graves, which cannot be much less than sixty centuries old, pottery has been found decorated with paintings representing boats of considerable size and pretensions. The making of crude types of boats was perhaps one of the first, if not actually the earliest, manifestations of human inventiveness: for primitive men in the very childhood of the species were able to use rough craft made of logs, reeds, or inflated skins, to ferry themselves across sheets of water which otherwise would have proved insuperable hindrances to their wanderings. But the Egyptian boats of 4000 B.C. probably represented a considerable advance in the art of naval construction; and before the Predynastic period had come to a close the invention of metal tools gave a great impetus to the carpenter's craft, and thus opened the way for the construction of more ambitious ships.

Whether or not the Predynastic boatmen ventured beyond the Nile into the open sea is not known for certain, although the balance of probability inclines strongly to the conclusion that they did so.

But there is positive evidence to prove that as early as 2800 B.C. maritime intercourse was definitely established along the coasts of the Eastern Mediterranean, bringing into contact the various peoples, at any rate those of Egypt and Syria, scattered along the littoral. Egyptian seamen were also trafficking along the shores of the Red Sea; and there are reasons ([5], p. 143) for believing that in Protodynastic times such intercourse may have extended around the coast of Arabia, as far as the Sumerian settlement at the head of the Persian Gulf, thus bringing into contact the homes of the world's most ancient civilizations.

More daring seamen were venturing out into the open sea, and extending their voyages at least as far as Crete: for the geographical circumstances at the time in question make it certain that Neolithic culture could not have reached that island in any other way than by maritime intercourse.

The Early Minoan Civilization, as well as the later modifications of Cretan burial customs, such as the making of rock-cut tombs and the use of stone for building, were certainly inspired in large measure by ideas brought from Egypt.

Long before the beginning of the second millennium B.C. the germs of the Egyptian megalithic culture had taken deep root, not





FIG. 6.—BAS-RELIEF OF SETI I PRESENTING THE FIGURE OF TRUTH TO OSIRIS, FROM THE TEMPLE AT ABYDOS.

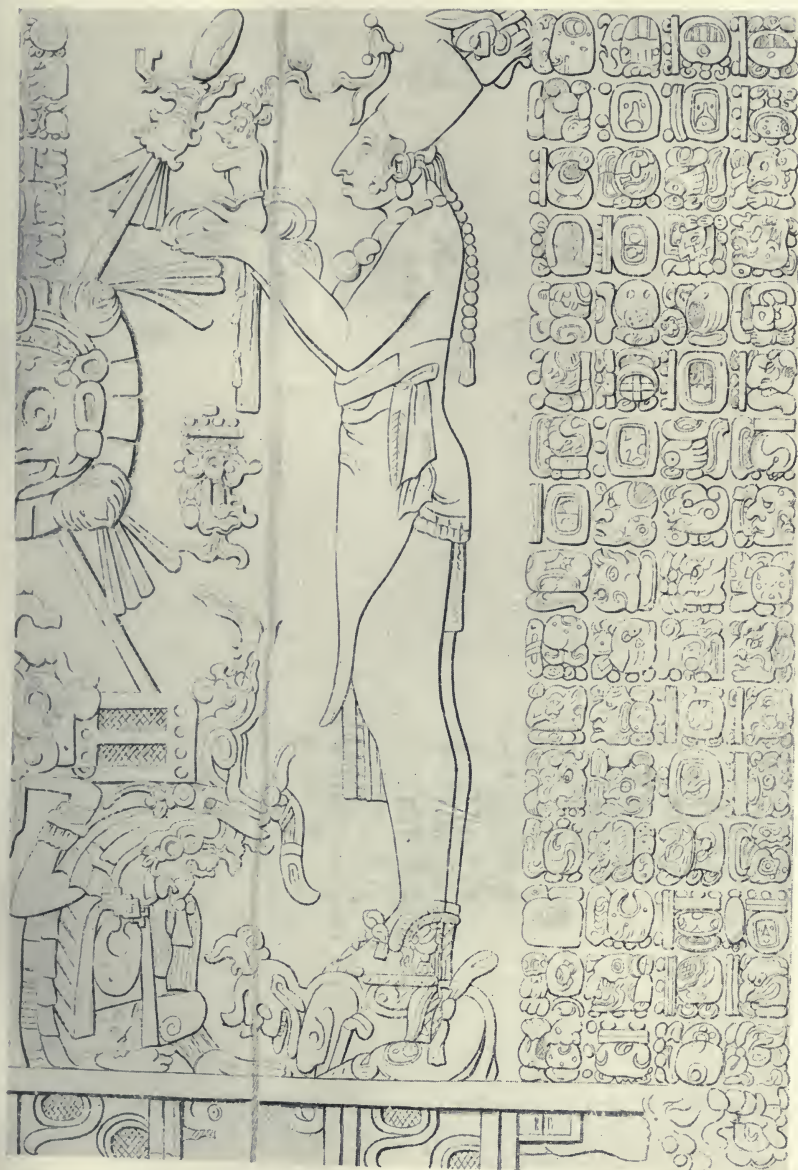


FIG. 7.—A SIMILAR RELIEF FROM THE SANCTUARY SHOWN IN FIG. 5.



only in Crete itself, but also throughout the Ægean and the coasts of Asia Minor and Palestine.

In course of time, as the art of ship-building advanced and the mariners' skill and experience increased, no doubt more extensive and better-equipped enterprises were undertaken. [For a concise summary of the evidence see [3], pp. 120 *et seq.*] Instances of this are provided by the famous expedition to the land of Punt in Queen Hatshepsut's reign (6) and the exploits of the Minoan seamen of Crete.

Such commercial intercourse cannot fail to have produced a slow diffusion of culture from one people to another, even if it was primarily of the nature of a mere exchange of commodities. But as the various civilizations gradually assumed their characteristic forms a certain conventionalism and a national pride grew up, which protected each of these more cultured communities from being so readily influenced by contact with aliens as it was in the days of its uncultured simplicity. Each tended to become more and more conscious of its national peculiarities, and immune against alien influences that threatened to break down the rigid walls of its proud conservatism.

It was not until the Minoan state had fallen and Egypt's dominion had begun to crumble that a people free from such prejudices began to adopt (7) all that it wanted from these hide-bound civilizations. To its own exceptional aptitude for and experience in maritime exploits it added all the knowledge acquired by the Egyptians, Minoans, and the peoples of Levant. It thus took upon itself to become the great intermediary between the nations of antiquity; and in the course of its trafficking with them, it did not scruple to adopt their arts and crafts, their burial customs, and even their gods. In this way was inaugurated the first era of really great sea-voyages in the world's history. For the trafficking with these great proud empires proved so profitable that the enterprising intermediaries who assumed the control of it, not only of bartering their merchandise one with the other, but also of supplying their wants from elsewhere, soon began to exploit the whole world for the things which the wealthy citizens of the imperial states desired [P].

There can be no doubt that it was the Phoenicians, lured forth into the unknown oceans in search of gold, who first broke through the bounds of the Ancient East (8) and whose ships embarked upon these earliest maritime adventures on the grand scale. Their

achievements and their motives present some analogies to those of the great European seamen of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who raided the East Indies and the Spanish Main for loot. But the exploits of the Phœnicians must be regarded as even greater events, not only by reason of the earlier period in which they were accomplished, but also from their vast influence upon the history of civilization in outlying parts of the world, as well as for inaugurating new methods of commerce and extending the use of its indispensable instrument, gold currency (Perry, *vide infra*).

Their doings are concisely set forth in the twenty-seventh chapter of the Book of Ezekiel, where Tyre is addressed in these words : "Who is there like Tyre, like her that is brought to silence in the midst of the sea ? When thy wares went forth out of the seas, thou filledst many peoples : thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches, and of thy merchandise."

Many circumstances were responsible for extending these wider ramifications of maritime trade, so graphically described in the rest of the same chapter of Ezekiel. As I have already explained, it was not merely the desire to acquire wealth, but also the appreciation of the possibilities of doing so that prompted the Phœnicians' exploits. Not being hampered by any undue respect for customs and conventions, they readily acquired and assimilated to themselves all the practical knowledge of the civilized world, whether it came from Egypt, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, or the Ægean. They were sprung from a pre-eminently maritime stock and probably had gained experience in seamanship in the Persian Gulf : and when they settled on the Syrian Coast they were also able to add to their knowledge of such things all that the Egyptians and the population of the Levant and Ægean had acquired for themselves after centuries of maritime adventure. But one of the great factors in explanation of the naval supremacy of the Phœnicians was their acquaintance with the facts of astronomy. The other peoples of the Ancient East had acquired a considerable knowledge of the stars, the usefulness of which, however, was probably restricted by religious considerations. Whether this be so or not, there can be no doubt that the Phœnicians were not restrained by any such ideas from putting to its utmost practical application the valuable guide to navigation in the open sea which this astronomical learning supplied.

They were only able to embark upon their great maritime enterprises in virtue of the use they made of the pole-star for steering. This theme has been discussed in great detail by Mrs. Zelia Nuttall (9) ; and although I am unable to accept a great part of her argument from astronomy, the evidence in substantiation of the use made of the pole-star for navigation, not only in the Mediterranean, but also by seamen navigating along the coasts of Asia and America, cannot be questioned.

Within recent years there has been a remarkable reaction against the attitude of a former generation, which perhaps unduly exaggerated certain phases of the achievements of the Phœnicians.

But the modern pose of minimizing their influence surely errs too much in the other direction, and is in more flagrant conflict with the facts of history and archæology than the former doctrine, which its sponsors criticize so emphatically. Due credit can be accorded to the Egyptians, Minoans, and other ancient mariners, without in any way detracting from the record of the Phœnicians, whose exploits could hardly have attained such great and widespread notoriety among the ancients without very real and substantial grounds for their reputation. The recent memoirs of Siret (10), Dahse (11), Nuttall (9), and the writer (M) have adduced abundant evidence in justification of the greatness of their exploits. Professor Sayce says : " They were the intermediaries of the ancient civilizations " ; and that by 600 B.C. they had " penetrated to the north-west coast of India and probably to the island of Britain ". " Phœnician art was essentially catholic . . . it assimilated the art of Babylonia, Egypt, and Assyria, superadding something of its own. . . . The cities of the Phœnicians were the first trading communities the world has seen. Their colonies were originally mere marts and their voyages of discovery were taken in the interests of trade. The tin of Britain, the silver of Spain, the birds of the Canaries, the frankincense of Arabia, the pearls and ivory of India all flowed into their harbours " (quoted by Mrs. Nuttall (9), *op. cit.*, p. 520).

These were the distinctive features of the Phœnicians' activities, of which Mr. Hogarth (8, pp. 154-159) gives a concise and graphic summary. But, as Mr. Perry has pointed out (12), they were led forth above all in search for gold. As he suggests, the Phœnicians seem to have been one of the first peoples to have assigned to gold the kind of

importance and value that civilized people have ever since attached to it. It was no longer merely material for making jewellery : "it became a currency, which made the foundation of civilization not only possible but inevitable, once such a currency came into being" (Perry).

The remarks addressed to Tyre in the Book of Ezekiel (xxvii. 9 *et seq.*) give expression to these ideas : "All the ships of the sea with their mariners were in thee to occupy thy merchandise. . . . Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches ; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded for thy wares. . . . Syria was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of thy handiworks : they traded for thy wares with emeralds, purple, and brodered work, and fine linen, and coral [probably pearls], and rubies ; they traded for thy merchandise wheat of Minnith, and Pannag, and honey, and oil, and balm. . . . The traffickers of Sheba and Raamah, they were thy traffickers : they traded for thy wares with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones, and gold. . . . The ships of Tarshish were thy caravans for thy merchandise ; and thou was replenished, and made very glorious in the heart of the seas. Thy rowers have brought thee into great waters : the east wind has broken thee in the heart of the seas."

The Phœnicians in fact controlled the commerce of most of the civilized world of that time ; and they did so mainly because of their superior skill and daring in seamanship, their newly realized appreciation of the value of gold, and their desire for precious stones and pearls, for which they began to ransack every country near and far. So thoroughly did they, and their pupils and imitators, accomplish their mission that only one pearl-field in the whole world (the West Australian site at Broome) escaped their exploitation (Perry, [12]).

Many of their great maritime adventures have been recorded by the ancient classical writers. The reality of others, for example, to India, which have not been specifically described, are none the less certain : not only was there most intimate intercourse between the Red Sea and India at the very time when the Phœnicians were displaying great activity in the Indian Ocean (M, p. 77 ; P, p. 210 and elsewhere), but the methods and the motives, no less than the cargoes, of these energetic and skilful mariners, whose exploits are celebrated in the *Mahābhārata*, and whose achievements are indelibly impressed upon Indian culture, proclaim them unmistakably to be Phœnicians.

(For a mass of detailed information on these matters see the notes in P.)

In the course of this trading there was not only an interchange of the articles of commerce provided by the Mediterranean countries and India, as well as by all the intermediate ports of call, but also there is the most positive evidence, in the multitude of western practices which suddenly made their appearance in India, at the very time when this free trafficking became definitely established, in demonstration of the fact that the civilizations of the West were exerting a very potent cultural influence upon the Dravidian population of India. Many of the customs which made their first appearance in India at that epoch, such as mummification, the making of rock-cut temples, and stone tombs (and many others of the long list of practices enumerated earlier in the present discourse) were definitely Egyptian in origin.

One of the most significant and striking of the effects of this maritime intercourse with Egypt was the influence exerted by the latter in the matter of ship-building (see M, p. 77 ; and especially P, p. 52 *et seq.*, among many other references in the same work).

The fact that such distinctively Egyptian practices were spread abroad at the same time as, and in close association with, many others equally definitely Mediterranean in origin (such as the use of Tyrian purple and of the conch-shell trumpet in temple services [21]), is further corroboration of the fact that the Phoenicians, who are known to have adopted the same mixture of customs, were the distributors of so remarkable a cultural cargo.

This identification is further confirmed by the fact that additions were made to this curious repertoire from precisely those regions where the Phoenicians are known vigorously to have carried on their trafficking, such as many places in the Mediterranean, on the Red Sea littoral, Ethiopia, and Southern Arabia.

In this way alone can be explained how there came to be associated with the megalithic culture such practices as the Sudanese Negro custom of piercing and distending the ear-lobules, the Armenian (or Central Asiatic) procedure for artificial deformation of the head, the method of terraced cultivation, which was probably a Southern Arabian modification of Egyptian cultivation and irrigation on a level surface ; certain beliefs regarding the "heavenly twins" ; and perhaps such institutions as "men's houses" and secret societies, and the building of pile-dwell-

ings, and customs such as trephining, dental mutilations, and perforating the lips and nose, which were collected by the wanderers from a variety of scattered peoples in the Ancient East.

Mrs. Nuttall (9) has made a vast collection of other evidence relating mainly to astronomy, calendars, the methods of subdividing time, and questions of political and social organization, upon the basis of which she independently arrived at essentially the same conclusions as I have formulated, not only as regards the reality and the time of the great migration of culture, but also as to the identification of the Phoenicians as the people mainly responsible for its diffusion abroad. She failed to realize, however, that this easterly diffusion of knowledge and customs was merely incidental to commercial intercourse and a result of the trafficking.

In addition to all these considerations I should like once more to emphasize the fact that it was the study of the physical characteristics of the people scattered along the great megalithic track—and more especially those of Polynesia and the Eastern Mediterranean—that first led me to investigate these problems of the migrations of culture and its bearers to the Far East (13). For one cannot fail to be struck with the many features of resemblance between the ancient seamen who were mainly responsible for the earliest great maritime exploits in the Mediterranean and Erythrean seas and the Pacific Ocean respectively.

The remarkable evidence (12) brought forward at the recent meeting of the British Association by Mr. W. J. Perry seems to me finally to decide the question of the identity of the wanderers who distributed early Mediterranean culture in the East.

His investigations also explain the motives for the journeyings and the reasons why the western culture took root in some places and not in others.

Throughout the world the localized areas where the distinctive features of this characteristic civilization occur—and especially such elements as megalithic structures, terraced irrigation, sun-worship, and practices of mummification—are precisely those places where ancient mine-workings, and especially gold-mines, or pearl-fisheries, are also found, and where presumably Phoenician settlements were established to exploit these sources of wealth. “But not only is a general agreement found between the distributions of megalithic influence and

ancient mine-workings, but the technique of mining, smelting, and refining operations is identical in all places where the earliest remains have been found. . . . The form of the furnaces used ; the introduction of the blast over the mouth of the furnace ; the process of refining whereby the metal is first roughly smelted in an open furnace and afterwards refined in crucibles ; as well as the forms of the crucibles and the substances of which they were made, are the same in all places where traces of ancient smelting operations have been discovered. . . . The conclusion to which all these facts point is that the search for certain forms of material wealth led the carriers of the megalithic culture to those places where the things they desired were to be found (Perry [12]).

The distribution of pearl-shell explains how their course was directed along certain routes : the situations of ancient mines provide the reason for the settlement of the wanderers and the adoption of the whole of the megalithic culture-complex in definite localities.

From the consideration of all of these factors it is clear that the great easterly migration of megalithic culture was the outcome of the traffic carried on between the Eastern Mediterranean and India during the three or four centuries from about 800 B.C. onward, and that the Phœnicians were mainly responsible for these enterprises. The littoral populations of Egypt, Ethiopia, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and India itself no doubt took a considerable part in this intercourse, for they all provided hardy mariners inured by long experience to such pursuits ; but for the reasons already suggested (their wider knowledge of the science and practice of seamanship) the Phœnicians seem to have directed and controlled these expeditions, even if they exploited the shores of the Mediterranean, Red Sea, Arabia, and farther East for skilled sailors to man their ships. That such recruits played a definite part in the Phœnician expeditions is shown by the transmission to the East of customs and practices found in localized areas of the coasts of the Mediterranean and Black Seas, and especially of Ethiopia, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf. It is probable that expert pearl-fishers were recruited on the shores of the Red Sea and gold-miners in Nubia and the Black Sea littoral.

The easterly migration of culture rolled like a great flood along the Asiatic littoral between the end of the eighth and the beginning of the fifth century B.C. ; and there can be no doubt that the leaven of

western culture was distributed to India, China, Japan, Indonesia, and possibly even further, mainly by that great wave. But for long ages before that time, no doubt a slow diffusion of culture had been taking place along the same coast-lines ; and ever since the first great stream brought the flood of western learning to the East a similar influence has been working along the same route, carrying to and from new elements of cultural exchange between the East and West.

The "Periplus of the Erythrean Sea" (3) reveals to us how closely the old routes were being followed and the same kind of traffic was going on in the first century of the Christian era ; the exploits of other mariners, Egyptian, Greek, Arabic, Indian, and Chinese (4), show how continuously such intercourse was maintained right up to the time when Western European adventurers first intruded into the Indian Ocean. The spread of Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Islam are further illustrations of the way in which such migrations of new cults followed the old routes (compare [20]).

In the light of such knowledge it would be altogether unjustifiable to assume that the geographical distribution of similar customs and beliefs along this great highway of ancient commerce was due exclusively to the great wave of megalithic culture before the sixth century B.C. There is evidence of the most definite kind that many of the elements of western culture—such, for example, as Ptolemaic and Christian methods of embalming—were spread abroad at later times (M).

Nevertheless there is amply sufficient information to justify the conclusion that many of the fundamental conceptions of Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and American civilization were planted in their respective countries by the great cultural wave which set out from the African coast not long before the sixth century B.C.

One of the objections raised even by the most competent ethnologists against the adoption of this view is the assumption involved in such a hypothesis that one and the same wave carried to the East a jumble of practices ranging in dates from that of Predynastic Egypt to the seventh century B.C.—that at, or about, the same time the inspiration to build megalithic monuments fashioned on the models of the Pyramid Age and others imitating New Empire temples reached India.

But the difficulties created by this line of argument are largely

illusory, especially when it is recalled that the sailors manning the Phœnician ships were recruited from so many localities. It is known that even within a few miles of the Egyptian frontiers—Nubia, for instance—many customs and practices which disappeared in Egypt itself in the times of the New, Middle, or Old Empires, or even in Predynastic times, persist until the present day. The earliest Egyptian method of circumcision (which Dr. Rivers calls "incision") disappeared in Egypt probably in the Pyramid Age, but it is still practised in East Africa; and no doubt it was the sailors recruited from that coast who were responsible for transmitting this practice to the East. When the first British settlement was made in America it introduced not only the civilization of the Elizabethan era, but also practices and customs that had been in vogue in England for many centuries; and no doubt every emigrant carried with him the traditions and beliefs that may have survived from very remote times in his own village. So the Phœnician expeditions spread abroad not only the Egyptian civilization of the seventh century B.C., but also the customs, beliefs, and practices of every sailor and passenger who travelled in their ships, whether he came from Syria, or the Ægean, from Egypt or Ethiopia, Arabia or the Persian Gulf. The fact that many extremely old Egyptian practices, which had been given up for centuries in Egypt itself, had survived elsewhere in the Mediterranean area and in Ethiopia explains how a mixture of Egyptian customs, distinctive of a great variety of different ages in Egypt itself, may have been distributed abroad at one and the same time by such mixed crews.

In her great monograph Mrs. Nuttall refers to "the great intellectual movement that swept at one time, like a wave, over the ancient centres of civilization"; and she quotes Huxley's essay on "Evolution and Ethics" with reference to the growth of Ionian philosophy during "the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries before our era" as "one of the many results of the stirring of the moral and intellectual life of the Aryan-Semitic population of Western Asia"; but Huxley was careful to add that "the Ionian intellectual movement is only one of the several sporadic indications of some powerful mental ferment over the whole of the area comprised between the Ægean and Northern Hindustan" (Nuttall [9], *op. cit.*, p. 526). She cites other evidence that points to the seventh century B.C. as about the time of

the extension of Mediterranean influence to India [and Indian influence to the west] through the intermediation of the Phœnicians.

It was not, however, merely to India that this diffusion extended, but also to China and Mexico. In the light of my own investigations I am inclined to re-echo the words of Mrs. Nuttall: "As far as I can judge, the great antiquity attributed, by Chinese historians, to the establishment of the governmental and cyclical schemes, still in use, appears extremely doubtful. Referring the question to Sinologists, I venture to ask whether it does not seem probable that the present Chinese scheme dates from the lifetime of Lao-tze, in the sixth century B.C., a period marked by the growth of Ionian philosophy, one feature of which was the invention of numerical schemes applied to 'divine politics' and ideal forms of government" (*op. cit.*, pp. 533 and 534).

To this I should like to add the query, whether there is any real evidence that the art of writing was known in China before that time? The researches of Dr. Alan Gardiner (14) make it abundantly clear that the art of writing was invented in Egypt; and further suggest that the idea must have spread from Egypt at an early date to Western Asia and the Mediterranean, where many diversely specialized kinds of script developed. Discussing the cultural connexion between India and the Persian Gulf "at the beginning of the seventh (and perhaps at the end of the eighth) century B.C.," my colleague Professor Rhys Davids adduces evidence in demonstration of the fact that the written scripts of India, Ceylon, and Burma were derived from that of "the pre-Semitic race now called Akkadians" ("Buddhist India," p. 116).

Dr. Schoff, however, in his remarkable commentary on the "Periplus of the Erythrean Sea," claims a Phœnician origin for the Dravidian alphabet (P., p. 229).

If then the knowledge of the art of writing reached India with the great wave of megalithic culture, it might be profitable to inquire whether the development of Chinese writing was really as ancient as most Sinologists assume it to be, or, on the other hand, may not its growth also have been stimulated by the same "great intellectual ferment" which is recognized as having brought about the new development in India? There is, of course, the possibility that the knowledge of writing may have reached China overland even before it is known to have reached India (20).

Professor Rhys Davids also calls attention (*op. cit.*, pp. 238 and 239) to "the great and essential similarity" between the "details of the lower phases of religion in India in the sixth century B.C., with the beliefs held, not only at the same time in the other centres of civilization—in China, Persia, and Egypt, in Italy and Greece—but also among the savages of then and now"; with reference to "a further and more striking resemblance" he quotes Sir Henry Maine's observation that "Nothing is more remarkable than the extreme fewness of progressive societies—the difference between them and the stationary races is one of the greatest secrets inquiry has yet to penetrate" ("Ancient Law," p. 22).

But is it not patent that what we who have been brought up in the atmosphere of modern civilization call "progress," is the striving after an artificial state of affairs, like all the arts and crafts of civilization itself, created by a special set of circumstances in one spot, the Ancient East? There is no inborn impulse to impel other people to become "progressive societies" in our acceptance of that term: in the past history of the world these other communities only began to "progress" when they had been inoculated with the germs of this artificial civilization by contact with the peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean area.

My colleague does not view the problem in this light. For him it is the most "stupendous marvel in the whole history of mankind" that the four great civilizations which grew up in the river basins of the Nile and the Euphrates, the Ganges and the Yellow River—through real and progressive civilizations, whose ideas and customs were no doubt constantly changing and growing—maintained merely "a certain dead level, if not a complete absence of what we should call philosophic thought," and "did not build up any large and general views, either of ethics, or of philosophy, or of religion"; but then "suddenly, and almost simultaneously, and almost certainly independently, there is evidence, about the sixth century B.C., in each of these widely separated centres of civilization, of a leap forward in speculative thought, of a new birth in ethics, of a religion of conscience threatening to take the place of the old religion of custom and magic".

But Professor Rhys Davids' opinion that this profound transformation occurred "almost certainly independently" is hard to reconcile with the fact, which he clearly explained earlier in the same book,

that for more than a century before the time of this "stupendous marvel" India had been in touch with the older civilizations of the West (pp. 70 and 113 *et seq.*). All of the difficulties of this, the most "suggestive problem awaiting the solution of the historian of human thought" (p. 239), disappear once the extent of this cultural contact with the West is fully realized.

The evidence to which I have called attention here, and elsewhere (M), makes it appear unlikely that these momentous events in the history of civilization were independent one of the other; to me it seems to prove definitely and most conclusively that they were parts of one connected movement. The "powerful ferment" of which Huxley speaks was due to the action upon the uncultured population of India (and in turn also those of China, Japan, and America) of the new knowledge brought from the Eastern Mediterranean by the Phœnician mariners, or the passengers who travelled with them in their trading expeditions.

To quote Mrs. Nuttall again: "Just as the older Andean art closely resembles that of the early Mediterranean, an observation made by Professor F. W. Putnam (1899), so the fundamental principles, numerical scheme, and plan of the state founded by the foreign Incas in Peru, resembled those formulated by Plato in his description of an ideal state" ([9], pp. 545-6). As one of the results of their intimate intercourse with Egypt the Phœnicians had adopted many of the Egyptian customs and beliefs, as well as becoming proficient in its arts and crafts. Perhaps also they recruited some of their seamen from the Egyptians who had been accustomed for long ages to maritime pursuits. In this way it may have come to pass that, when the Phœnicians embarked on their great over-sea expeditions, they became the distributors of Egyptian practices. They did not, of course, spread abroad Egyptian culture in its purest form: for as middlemen they selected for adoption, consciously as well as unconsciously, certain of its constituent elements and left others. Moreover, they had customs of their own and practices which they had borrowed from the whole Eastern Mediterranean world as well as from Mesopotamia.

The first stage of the oriental extension of their trafficking (15) was concerned with the Red Sea and immediately beyond the Straits of the Bab-el-Mandeb. [In his scholarly commentary on "The Peri-

plus of the Erythrean Sea," Dr. Schoff gives, in a series of explanatory notes, a most illuminating summary of the literature relating to all these early trading expeditions. The reader who questions my remarks on these matters should consult his lucid digest of an immense mass of historical documents.] In the course of their trading in these regions the travellers freely adopted the practices of the inhabitants of the Ethiopian coast and southern Arabia—customs which in many cases had been derived originally from Egypt and had slowly percolated up the Nile, and eventually, with many modifications and additions, reached the region of the Somali coast. Whether this adoption of Ethiopian customs was the result merely of intercourse with the natives in the Sabaean and East African ports, or was to be attributed to the actual recruiting of seamen for the oriental expeditions from these regions, there is no evidence to permit us to say : but judging from the analogies of what is known to have happened elsewhere, it is practically certain that the latter suggestion alone affords an adequate explanation of the potent influence exerted by these Ethiopian practices in the Far East. For such a complete transference of customs and beliefs from one country to another can occur only when the people who practise them migrate from their homeland and settle in the new country. It is, of course, well recognized that from the eighth century onward, if not before then, there has been some intercourse between East Africa and India, and the whole of the intervening littoral of Southern Asia (see Schoff's commentaries on the *Periplus*).

For reasons that I have explained elsewhere (5) it is probable that, even as early as the time of the First Egyptian Dynasty maritime intercourse was already taking place along the whole Arabian coast, and even linking up in cultural contact the nascent civilizations developing in the Nile Valley and near the head of the Persian Gulf. No doubt the following twenty-five centuries witnessed a gradual development and oriental extension of this littoral intercommunication : but from the eighth century onward the current flowed more strongly and in immeasurably greater volume. The western coast of India was subjected to the full force of a cultural stream in which the influences of Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean world, Ethiopia, Arabia, and Babylonia were blended by the Phoenicians, who no doubt were mainly responsible for controlling and directing the current for their own pecuniary benefit (see especially 12 ; and M, p. 77 *et seq.*).

This easterly stream, as I have already explained above, was responsible for originating in India and Ceylon, at about the same time, temples of New Empire Egyptian type, dolmens which represent the Old Empire type, rounded tumuli which might be regarded as Mycenaean, and seven-stepped stone Pyramids as Chaldean, modifications of Egyptian Pyramids; and if the monuments farther east are taken into consideration, the blended influences of Egypt, Babylonia, and India become even more definitely manifested. In studying the oriental spread of Egyptian ideas and practices it must constantly be borne in mind that it was the rare exception rather than the rule for the influence of such things to be exerted directly, as for example when Cyrus definitely adopted Egyptian funerary customs and methods of tomb-construction (M, p. 67). His successors even employed Egyptian craftsmen to carry out the work. In most cases an alien people, the Phoenicians, were responsible for transmitting these customs to India and the Further East, and not only did they modify them themselves, but in addition they, or the crews of their ships, carried to the East the influence of Egyptian practices which had been adopted by various other alien peoples and had suffered more or less transformation. In this way alone is it possible to explain how large a part was played in this easterly migration of culture by the customs of Ethiopia. For many centuries the effects of Egyptian civilization had been slowly percolating up the Nile amongst a variety of people, and ultimately, with many additions and modifications, made themselves apparent among the littoral population of East Africa. Such Ethiopian transformations of Egyptian ideas and customs form a very obtrusive element in the cultural wave which flowed to India, Indonesia, and Oceania (M).

It is instructive to compare the outstanding features of tomb and temple-construction in Egypt with those of the Asiatic and American civilization. In Egypt it is possible to study the gradual evolution of the temple and to realize in some measure the circumstances and ideas which prompted the development and the accentuation of certain features at the expense of others (2).

For example, the conception of the door of a tomb or temple as symbolizing the means of communication between the living and the dead was apparent even in Protodynastic times, and gradually became so insistent that by the time of the New Empire the Egyptian temple has been converted into a series of monstrously overgrown gateways or



Fig. 5.—THE SANCTUARY OF A TEMPLE OF THE SUN IN PALENQUE, AFTER STEPHENS AND CALDERWOOD,

pylons, which dwarfed all the other features into insignificance. The same feature revealed itself in the Dravidian temples of Southern India ; and the obtrusive gateways of Further Asiatic temples, no less than the symbolic wooden structures found in China and Japan (Torii), are certainly manifestations of the same conception.

Among less cultured people, such as the Fijians, who were unable to reproduce this feature of the Egyptian and Indian temples, the general plan, without the great pylons or gopurams, was imitated (16). The Fijians have a tradition that the people who built these great stone enclosures came across the sea from the West (M, p. 29).

Other features of the Egyptian temples of the New Empire period, which were widely adopted in other lands, were the placing of colossal statues alongside the doorway, as in the Ramesseum at Thebes, the construction of a causeway leading up to the temple, flanked with stones, carved or uncarved, such as the avenue of sphinxes at Karnak, and the excavation of elaborate rock-cut temples such as that at Abu-Simbel. In the temples of India, Cambodia, China, and America such features repeatedly occur ([17], p. 153).

A whole volume might be written on the evidence supplied by Oriental and American Pyramids of the precise way in which the influences of Egypt, Babylonia, and the Ægean were blended in these monuments.

In the Far East and America the Chaldean custom obtained of erecting the temple upon the summit of a truncated Pyramid. In Palenque and Chiapas, as well as elsewhere in the Isthmus region of America, many temples are found thus perched upon the tops of Pyramids. In design they are essentially Egyptian, not only as regards their plan, but also in the details of their decoration, from the winged disc upon the lintel (Figs. 3 and 5), to the reliefs within the sanctuary (23). For in the Palenque temples are depicted scenes (such as the one shown in Fig. 7) strictly comparable to those found in the New Empire Theban temples (compare, for example, Fig. 7 with the relief from temple of Seti I at Abydos, Fig. 6).

I need not enter into the discussion of mummification and the very precise evidence it affords of the easterly spread of Egyptian influence, for I have devoted a special memoir (M) to the consideration of its significance. I should like to make it plain, however, that it was the data afforded by the technique of the earliest method of embalming

that is known to have been adopted in the Far East which led me to assign the age of the commencement of its migration to a time probably not earlier than the eighth century B.C. ; and that this conclusion was reached long before I was aware of all the other evidence of most varied nature (mentioned in the writings of Vincent Smith [17], Rhys-Davids, Crooke, Nuttall, Oldham, and many others) which points to the same general conclusion. As several different methods of embalming, Late New Empire, Graeco-Roman, and Coptic, are known to have reached India it is quite clear that at least three distinct cultural waves proceeded to the East : but the first, which planted the germs of the new culture on the practically virgin soil of the untutored East, exerted an infinitely profounder influence than all that came after.

In fact most of the obtrusive elements of the megalithic culture, with its strange jumble of associated practices, beliefs, and traditions, certainly travelled in the first great wave, somewhere about the time of, perhaps a little earlier or later than, the seventh century B.C.

Although in this lecture I am primarily concerned with the demonstration of the influence exerted, directly or indirectly, by Egyptian culture in the East, it is important to obtain confirmation from other evidence of the date which the former led me to assign to the great migration. I have already referred to the facts cited by Mrs. Nuttall in proof of her contention that Ionian ideas spread East and ultimately reached America. Since her great monograph was written she has given an even more precise and convincing proof of the influence of the Phœnician world on America by describing how the use of Tyrian purple extended as far as Mexico in Pre-Columbian times (18). The associated use of conch-shell trumpets and pearls is peculiarly instructive : the geographical distribution of the former enables one to chart the route taken by this spread of culture, while the latter (the pearl-fisheries) supply one of the motives which attracted the wanderers and led them on until eventually they reached the New World.

Professor Bosanquet has adduced evidence suggesting that *Purpura* was first used by the Minoans : in Crete also the conch-shell trumpet was employed in the temple services. No doubt the Phœnicians acquired these customs from the Mycenean peoples.

In his monograph (19) on "The Sacred Chank of India" (1914) Mr. James Hornell has filled in an important gap in the chain of dis-

tribution given by Mrs. Nuttall. He has not only confirmed her opinion as to the close association of the conch-shell trumpet and pearls, but also has shown what an important role these shells have played in India from Dravidian times onward. His evidence is doubly welcome, not only because it links up the use of the Chank with so many elements of the megalithic culture and of the temple ritual in India, but also because it affords additional confirmation of the date which I have assigned for the introduction of the former into India (see M, especially pp. 117 *et seq.*).

In India these new elements of culture took deep root and developed into the luxurious growth of so-called Dravidian civilization, which played a great part in shaping the customs and practices of the later Brahmanical and Buddhist cults. From India a series of migrations carried the megalithic customs and beliefs, and their distinctively Indian developments, farther east to Burma, Indonesia, China, and Japan; and, with many additions from these countries, streams of wanderers for many centuries carried them out into the islands of the Pacific and eventually to the shores of America, where there grew up a highly organized but exotic civilization compounded of the elements of the Old World's ancient culture, the most outstanding and distinctive ingredients of which came originally from Ancient Egypt.

I do not possess the special knowledge to estimate the reliability of M. Terrien de Lacouperie's remarkable views on the origin of Chinese civilization (20), some of which seem to be highly speculative. But there is a sufficient mass of precise information, based upon the writings of creditable authorities, to discount in large measure the wholesale condemnation of his opinions in recent years. Whatever justification, or lack of it, there may be for his statements as to the early overland connection between Mesopotamia and China, his views concerning the later maritime intercourse between the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, India and Indo-China, and China are in remarkable accordance with the opinions which, in the absence of any previous acquaintance with his writings, I have set forth here, not only as regards the nature of the migration and the sources of the elements of culture, but also the date of its arrival in the far east and the motives which induced traders to go there.

There can be no reasonable doubt that Asiatic civilization reached

America partly by way of Polynesia, as well as directly from Japan, and also by the Aleutian route.

The immensely formidable task of spanning the broad Pacific to reach the coasts of America presents no difficulty to the student of early migrations. "The islands of the Pacific were practically all inhabited long before Tasman and Cook made their appearance in Pacific waters. Intrepid navigators had sailed their canoes north and south, east and west, until their language and their customs had been carried into every corner of the ocean. These Polynesian sailors had extended their voyages from Hawaii in the North to the fringe of the ice-fields in the Far South, and from the coast of South America on the East to the Philippine Islands on the West. No voyage seems to have been too extended for them, no peril too great for them to brave."

Mr. Elsdon Best, from whose writings (21) I have taken the above quotation, answers the common objection that the frailness of the early canoes was incompatible with such journeys. "As a matter of fact the sea-going canoe of the ancient Maori was by no means frail: it was a much stronger vessel than the eighteen-foot boat in which Bligh and his companions navigated 3600 miles of the Pacific after the mutiny of the 'Bounty'."

Thirty generations ago Toi, when leaving Raratonga to seek the islands of New Zealand, said, "I will range the wide seas until I reach the land-head at Aotearoa, the moisture-laden land discovered by Kupe, or be engulfed for ever in the depths of Hine-moana".

It was in this spirit that the broad Pacific was bridged and the civilization of the Old World carried to America.

When one considers the enormous extent of the journey, and the multitude and variety of the vicissitudes encountered upon the way, it is a most remarkable circumstance that practically the whole of the complex structure of the megalithic culture should have reached the shores of America. Hardly any of the items in the large series of customs and beliefs enumerated at the commencement of this lecture failed to get to America in pre-Columbian times. The practice of mummification, with modifications due to Polynesian and other oriental influences; the characteristically Egyptian elements of its associated ritual, such as the use of incense and libations; and beliefs concerning the soul's wanderings in the underworld, where it under-

goes the same vicissitudes as it was supposed to encounter in Pharaonic times [New Empire]—all were found in Mexico and elsewhere in America, with a multitude of corroborative detail to indicate the influence exerted by Ethiopia, Babylonia, India, Indonesia, China, Japan, and Oceania, during the progress of their oriental migration. The general conception, no less than the details of their construction and the associated beliefs, make it equally certain that the megalithic monuments of America were inspired by those of the ancient East ; and while the influences which are most obtrusively displayed in them are clearly Egyptian and Babylonian, the effects of the accretions from the Ægean, India, Cambodia, and Eastern Asia are equally unmistakable. The use of idols and stone seats (22), beliefs in the possibility of men or animals dwelling in stones, and the complementary supposition that men and animals may become petrified, the story of the deluge, of the divine origin of kings, who are regarded as the children of the sun or the sky, and the incestuous origin of the chosen people—the whole of this complexly interwoven series of characteristically Egypto-Babylonian practices and beliefs reappeared in America in pre-Columbian times, as also did the worship of the sun and the beliefs regarding serpents, including a great part of the remarkably complex and wholly artificial symbolism associated with this sun and serpent-worship. Circumcision, tattooing, piercing and distending the earlobules, artificial deformation of the head, trephining, weaving linen, the use of Tyrian purple, conch-shell trumpets, a special appreciation of pearls, precious stones, and metals, certain definite methods of mining and extraction of metals, terraced irrigation, the use of the swastika-symbol, beliefs regarding thunder-bolts and thunder-teeth, certain phallic practices, the boomerang, the beliefs regarding the “heavenly twins,” the practice of couvade, the custom of building special “men’s houses” and the institution of secret societies, the art of writing, certain astronomical ideas, and entirely arbitrary notions concerning a calendrical system, the subdivisions of time, and the constitution of the state—all of these and many other features of pre-Columbian civilization are each and all distinctive tokens of influence of the culture of the Old World upon that of the New. Not the least striking demonstration of this borrowing from the old world is afforded by games (M, p. 12, *footnote*).

When in addition it is considered that most, if not all, of this

variegated assortment of customs and beliefs are linked one to the other in a definite and artificial system, which agrees with that which is known to have grown up somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Eastern Mediterranean, there can no longer be any reasonable doubt as to the derivation of the early American civilization from the latter source.

All the stories of culture-heroes which the natives tell corroborate the inference which I have drawn from ethnological data.

When to this positive demonstration is added the evidence of the exact relationship of the localities where this exotic Old World culture took root in America to the occurrence of pearl-shell and precious metals, the proof is clinched by these unmistakable tokens that the same Phœnician methods which led to the diffusion of this culture-complex in the Old World also were responsible for planting it in the New (Perry [12]) some centuries after the Phœnicians themselves had ceased to be.

In these remarks I have been dealing primarily with the influence of Ancient Egyptian civilization ; but in concentrating attention upon this one source of American culture it must not be supposed that I am attempting to minimize the extent of the contributions from Asia. From India America took over the major part of her remarkable pantheon, including practically the whole of the beliefs associated with the worship of Indra (24).

NOTES.

(1) In the strict sense, the statement set forth here is not a report of the lecture delivered at the Rylands Library, although it deals with essentially the same body of facts and expounds the same inferences. The lecture was an ocular demonstration of the facts to which I am endeavouring to give literary expression here. By means of a large series of photographic projections of tombs, temples, and other objects scattered broadcast in Egypt, Asia, and America, together with maps to illustrate the geographical distribution of particular features, the attempt was made to appeal directly to the common sense of the audience in support of the proposition that the fundamental constituents of all civilizations spread from one centre. In setting forth the argument here I have in mind a different audience and am making use of a good deal of evidence to which no reference was made in my lecture. Much of it, in fact, has come to my knowledge since the lecture was delivered.

In collecting the material for the purposes of my discourse at the Rylands Library I found that it was impossible to tell the whole story in one hour. The evidence derived from the study of tombs and temples in the different countries was therefore communicated to the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, and has been published in the form of an abstract ("Oriental Tombs and Temples") in that Society's "Journal". The vast collection of data relating to the practice of mummification, and the customs and ideas associated with it, was presented to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society and published in their "Memoirs". It has since been issued in book form by the Manchester University Press under the title, "The Migrations of Early Culture". As I shall have occasion in the present discourse repeatedly to make use of the statements of fact, and especially the bibliographical references contained in that memoir, it will save trouble if I adopt the letter "M" as a form of brief reference to it.

In the Rylands lecture I made use of the general results set forth in the other two discourses and, with the addition of new evidence, dealt with the broader aspects of the problem.

(2) The former lectures have not been published as such, but most of the materials employed will be found in my book "The Ancient Egyptians," 1911; my contributions to the British Association Reports for 1911-15 (see "Man," 1911, p. 176; 1912, p. 173; 1913, p. 193), and the article on "The Evolution of the Rock-cut Tomb and Dolmen," published in the Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway, Cambridge, 1913, p. 493. The general statement with which the present discourse begins is the abstract of the address which I delivered at the recent meeting of the British Association in opening the discussion on

"the Influence of Ancient Egyptian Civilization on the World's Culture".

(3) "The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea: Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century": Translated from the Greek and annotated by Wilfred H. Schoff, Longmans, Green & Co., 1912.

This scholarly work is so packed with historical facts and critical digests of a vast mass of literature relating to early maritime expeditions and other matters intimately related to the subject of my lecture that I shall have to refer to it repeatedly. It will save constant repetition of the title if I adopt the letter "P" as a concise form of reference to it.

(4) Chau-lu-kua: His work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled *Chu-fan-chi*, Translated from the Chinese and annotated by Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, 1911.

(5) "The Ancient Egyptians," *op. cit. supra*, p. 143.

(6) As the study of the geographical distribution of mummification originally formed the foundation of my argument it is important to note in this connexion that these earliest maritime expeditions were largely inspired by the desire to obtain the aromatic materials and wood for the purposes of embalming, preparing incense, and making coffins.

(7) The readiness of the Phoenicians to accept the beliefs and practices of all these ancient civilizations was no doubt due, in part, to the fact that at different times Phoenicia formed part of the dominions of each of the ancient empires in turn, so that its inhabitants naturally came into possession of a composite culture and grew accustomed to a free trade in the arts of civilization as well as in merchandise.

(8) In this discourse I have used the phrase "Ancient East" in the sense defined by Mr. Hogarth in his book with that title.

(9) Zelia Nuttall, "The Fundamental Principles of Old and New World Civilizations: a comparative research based on a study of the Ancient Mexican Religious, Sociological, and Calendrical Systems," "Archæological and Ethnological Papers of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University," Vol. II, March, 1901.

A large part of Mrs. Nuttall's great treatise is devoted to the consideration of this astronomical knowledge and its influence of its acquisition upon the history of civilization, and especially the phase of it with which I am concerned here. The initial part of her argument credits primitive mankind with powers of observation and scientific inference which I cannot believe: but even if her speculations concerning the origin of the swastika be put aside as incredible, it cannot be denied that she has brought forward a sufficiently imposing collection of unquestionable data to demonstrate the important part played by a knowledge of the stars as an aid to navigation by the Phoenicians, and also by all the peoples whom both she and I suppose to have derived their knowledge of seamanship from them.

(10) Siret, "Les Cassitérides et l'Empire Colonial des Phéniciens," "L'Anthropologie," 1908, p. 129; 1909, pp. 129 and 283; and 1910, p. 281.

(11) Dahse, "Ein Zweites Goldland Salomos," "Zeitsch. f. Ethn.," 1911, p. 1.

(12) W. J. Perry's contribution to the discussion on "The Influence of Ancient Egyptian Civilization on the World's Culture," at the Manchester meeting of the British Association, 1915, since published in the Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society under the title "The Geographical Distribution of Megalithic Monuments and Ancient Mines".

Although I am wholly responsible for the form of this (Rylands) address, a great deal of the information made use of was collected by Mr. Perry, and most of the rest emerged in the course of repeated conversations with him.

(13) See "The Ancient Egyptians," p. 61; also my article on "The Influence of Racial Admixture in Egypt," the "Eugenics Review," Oct., 1915.

(14) Alan H. Gardiner, "The Nature and Development of the Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Writing," "Journal of Egyptian Archaeology," Volume II, Part II, April, 1915; also "Fresh Light upon the Origin of the Semitic Alphabet," a communication made at the British Association meeting at Manchester, September, 1915. In the latter Dr. Gardiner gave an account of a newly discovered method of writing from Sinai which is certainly earlier than 1500 B.C.: it is a proto-Semitic script inspired by the Egyptian method of writing and it makes it no longer possible to doubt that Phœnician, Greek, and Sabæan letters, no less than Minoan, were borrowed from, or modelled upon, the Egyptian hieroglyphic system of writing.

(15) The views which I am setting forth here are, as a matter of fact, substantiated by linking together the evidence collected in a large series of scattered areas by leading scholars. It is a commonplace of scientific inquiry that the man who devotes himself with the greatest concentration of mind to the investigation of some isolated or localized subject of research may be blind to the precise relation of his work to wider problems. He may become so obsessed by the difficulties which he encounters as to fail to realize the progress of the whole campaign. During the last few months it must have been the experience of all of us stay-at-home people to find that, without possessing any expert military knowledge, the scraps of news which come to us from all sides have made us more fully acquainted with the progress of the war than many of the soldiers who are actually participating in the fighting in some one spot. So the untrained on-looker in the ethnologists' great battle may see most of the fight and see it more clearly than many of those whose attention is riveted on their own special difficulties.

(16) Lorimer Fison, "The Nanga, or Sacred Stone Enclosure, of Wainimala, Fiji," "The Journal of the Anthropological Institute," Vol. XIV, 1885, p. 14.

(17) "The Imperial Gazetteer of India, the Indian Empire," Vol. II, Historical, New Edition, 1903.

(18) Zelia Nuttall, "A Curious Survival in Mexico of the Purpura Shell-fish for Dyeing," Putnam Anniversary Volume, 1909.

(19) James Hornell, "The Sacred Chank of India," Madras, Government Press, 1914.

(20) Terrien de Lacouperie, "Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization," 1894, Asher & Co., London.

(21) Report of a lecture delivered by Mr. Elsdon Best to the Wellington Philosophical Society in New Zealand, July, 1915.

(22) The peculiar custom of providing stone seats in tombs or for councils of special solemnity (in association with burial places) which probably developed out of certain Egyptian conceptions ([M], p. 43), is seen in its most typical form in a tomb of the First Late Minoan period excavated at Isopata by Sir Arthur Evans in 1910, as well as in Etruscan sites. Mr. Perry has shown that this custom also occurs in precisely those places (beyond the limits of the Ancient East) where the megalithic culture is seen in its fully developed form—for example, in India only in those localities where megalithic monuments occur, as also in the selected spots in Indonesia and Oceania. But the practice attained its greatest development in Ecuador, where enormous numbers of such seats, many of them curiously suggestive of Old World design, have been found (see Saville's "Antiquities of Manati, Ecuador," Preliminary Report, 1907, pp. 23 *et seq.*, and Final Report, 1910, pp. 88 *et seq.*).

The use of conch-shell trumpets in certain temple services, which also is to be referred to Minoan times in Crete, has been recorded in India, Oceania, and America; and in itself is a very clear demonstration of the transference of a peculiar custom from the Mediterranean to America.

(23) The winged disc with a pair of serpents (Fig. 1) is the commonest and most distinctive symbol of the Ancient Egyptian religion, and is constantly found carved upon the lintels of the great doors of the temples. It appeared in a great variety of forms in Egypt and was widely adopted and distributed abroad, especially by the Phœnicians (see Count d'Alviella, "The Migration of Symbols," 1894, p. 204 *et seq.*). It is found in Palestine ("The Sun of righteousness with healing in his wings," Malachi IV. 2), Asia Minor, Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia, as well as in Carthage, Cyprus, Sardinia, and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. In modified forms it occurs in India and the Far East, and ultimately it reappears in America in a practically complete form (Figs. 3 and 4) and in precisely homologous situations, upon the lintels of doors in sun-temples (Fig. 5). But the curious feature of these American winged discs is that they are invariably reversed; and the body of the serpent, which even in the Egyptian models is often conventionalized into a lattice-like pattern, is now replaced by a geometrical design (Fig. 3). This only becomes intelligible when it is compared with the (reversed) Egyptian original. In most instances (as, for example, Fig. 4) the design is still further modified in a characteristically American manner: but if one disregards the ornate embellishments, the distinctive features of the severer Egyptian-like pattern of Fig. 3 leave no doubt as to the homologies. The face of the god takes the place of the sun's disc, as so often happens in the Old World varieties (compare Fig. 2, and especially William Hayes Ward's monograph, "The Seal Cylinders of West Asia," Carnegie Institute, Washington, 1910, pp. 211-252 and 395-6; and the series of treatises on the History of Art by Perrot and Chipiez). Spinden ["A Study of Maya Art," Cambridge (Mass.), 1913, p. 196] states that

the "Serpent Bird" and not the disc is represented at Ococingo (Fig. 3): but this is by no means fatal, as he imagines, to the views set forth here. That this "Serpent Bird" or "Feathered Snake" occurs in temples of the Sun completes the proof of the identity with its Egyptian prototype.

In fact all the associations of these winged discs in Mexico and Central America—the Egyptian-like temples, perched upon the tops of Pyramids; the sanctuaries (Fig. 5) embellished with designs (Fig. 7) essentially identical with those found in analogous Egyptian temples (Fig. 6); and the nature of the gods worshipped, and their various attributes—are eloquent of the source of their inspiration in the Old World. These temples with their embellishments in fact afford a remarkable demonstration of the blended influences of Egypt, Babylonia, India and China, with those of America.

Incidentally they supply the most striking corroboration of the views set forth by Dr. Rivers ("‘Conventionalism’ in Primitive Art," Report Brit. Association, 1912, p. 599) that the transformation of a naturalistic into a geometrical design is not usually due to simplification, but to a blending of different cultural influences. The American development of the winged disc, for example, is essentially geometrical, but enormously more complicated and richly embellished than the original.

(24) "Pre-Columbian Representations of the Elephant in America," "Nature," December 16, 1915.

CLASSIFIED LIST OF RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

The classification of the items in this list is in accordance with the main divisions of the "Dewey Decimal System," and in the interest of those readers, who may not be familiar with the system, it may be advisable briefly to point out the advantages claimed for this method of arrangement.

The principal advantage of a classified catalogue, as distinguished from an alphabetical one, is that it preserves the unity of the subject, and by so doing enables a student to follow its various ramifications with ease and certainty. Related matter is thus brought together, and the reader turns to one sub-division and round it he finds grouped others which are intimately connected with it. In this way new lines of research are often suggested.

One of the great merits of the system employed is that it is easily capable of comprehension by persons previously unacquainted with it. Its distinctive feature is the employment of the ten digits, in their ordinary significance, to the exclusion of all other symbols—hence the name, decimal system.

The sum of human knowledge and activity has been divided by Dr. Dewey into ten main classes—0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. These ten classes are each separated in a similar manner, thus making 100 divisions. An extension of the process provides 1000 sections, which can be still further sub-divided in accordance with the nature and requirements of the subject. Places for new subjects may be provided at any point of the scheme by the introduction of new decimal points. For the purpose of this list we have not thought it necessary to carry the classification beyond the hundred main divisions, the arrangement of which will be found in the "Order of Classification" which follows :—

ORDER OF CLASSIFICATION.

000 General Works.

- 010 BIBLIOGRAPHY.
- 020 LIBRARY ECONOMY.
- 030 GENERAL CYCLOPEDIAS.
- 040 GENERAL COLLECTIONS.
- 050 GENERAL PERIODICALS.
- 060 GENERAL SOCIETIES.
- 070 NEWSPAPERS.
- 080 SPECIAL LIBRARIES. POLYGRAPHY.
- 090 BOOK RARITIES.

100 Philosophy.

- 110 METAPHYSICS.
- 120 SPECIAL METAPHYSICAL TOPICS.
- 130 MIND AND BODY.
- 140 PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEMS.
- 150 MENTAL FACULTIES. PSYCHOLOGY.
- 160 LOGIC.
- 170 ETHICS.
- 180 ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS.
- 190 MODERN PHILOSOPHERS.

200 Religion.

- 210 NATURAL THEOLOGY.
- 220 BIBLE.
- 230 DOCTRINAL THEOL. DOGMATICS.
- 240 DEVOTIONAL AND PRACTICAL.
- 250 HOMILETIC. PASTORAL. PAROCHIAL.
- 260 CHURCH. INSTITUTIONS. WORK.
- 270 RELIGIOUS HISTORY.
- 280 CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS.
- 290 NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS.

300 Sociology.

- 310 STATISTICS.
- 320 POLITICAL SCIENCE.
- 330 POLITICAL ECONOMY.
- 340 LAW.
- 350 ADMINISTRATION.
- 360 ASSOCIATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS.
- 370 EDUCATION.
- 380 COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATION.
- 390 CUSTOMS. COSTUMES. FOLK-LORE.

400 Philology.

- 410 COMPARATIVE.
- 420 ENGLISH.
- 430 GERMAN.
- 440 FRENCH.
- 450 ITALIAN.
- 460 SPANISH.
- 470 LATIN.
- 480 GREEK.
- 490 MINOR LANGUAGES.

500 Natural Science.

- 510 MATHEMATICS.
- 520 ASTRONOMY.
- 530 PHYSICS.
- 540 CHEMISTRY.
- 550 GEOLOGY.
- 560 PALEONTOLOGY.
- 570 BIOLOGY.
- 580 BOTANY.
- 590 ZOOLOGY.

600 Useful Arts.

- 610 MEDICINE.
- 620 ENGINEERING.
- 630 AGRICULTURE.
- 640 DOMESTIC ECONOMY.
- 650 COMMUNICATION AND COMMERCE.
- 660 CHEMICAL TECHNOLOGY.
- 670 MANUFACTURES.
- 680 MECHANIC TRADES.
- 690 BUILDING.

700 Fine Arts.

- 710 LANDSCAPE GARDENING.
- 720 ARCHITECTURE.
- 730 SCULPTURE.
- 740 DRAWING, DESIGN, DECORATION.
- 750 PAINTING.
- 760 ENGRAVING.
- 770 PHOTOGRAPHY.
- 780 MUSIC.
- 790 AMUSEMENTS.

800 Literature.

- 810 AMERICAN.
- 820 ENGLISH.
- 830 GERMAN.
- 840 FRENCH.
- 850 ITALIAN.
- 860 SPANISH.
- 870 LATIN.
- 880 GREEK.
- 890 MINOR LANGUAGES.

900 History.

- 910 GEOGRAPHY AND DESCRIPTION.
- 920 BIOGRAPHY.
- 930 ANCIENT HISTORY.
- 940 EUROPE.
- 950 ASIA.
- 960 AFRICA.
- 970 NORTH AMERICA.
- 980 SOUTH AMERICA.
- 990 OCEANICA AND POLAR REGIONS.

Modern.

o10 BIBLIOGRAPHY : GENERAL.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. Illustrated monographs. *London*, 1913.
4to. *In progress*. R 34665

16. MacKerrow (R. B.) Printers' and publishers' devices in England and Scotland, 1485-1640.—1913.

CENTRALBLATT FÜR BIBLIOTHEKSWESEN. Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen. *Leipzig*, 1913. 8vo. *In progress*. R 5588

43. Mainz.—Jakobskloster. W. Treffer und die Bibliothek des Jakobsklosters zu Mainz : ein Beitrag zur Literatur- und Bibliotheksgeschichte des ausgehenden Mittelalters von F. Schillmann.—1913.

GUTENBERG-GESELLSCHAFT. Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft. [With plates.] *Mainz*, 1913. 4to and fol. *In progress*. R 8537

12-13. Rome, Church of. Die Mainzer Ablassbriefe der Jahre 1454 und 1455. Von . . . G. Zedler. . . —1913.

ROXBURGHE CLUB. The Roxburghe club : [Publications.] *Oxford*, 1912. Fol. *In progress*. R 4716

Henry VIII, *King of England*. Songs, ballads, and instrumental pieces composed by King Henry the Eighth. Reproduced from the British Museum ms. 31922. Collected . . . by the Lady M. Trefusis. To which is prefixed a list of the King's instruments from the British Museum ms. Harl. 1419.—1912.

SAMMLUNG BIBLIOTHEKSWISSENSCHAFTLICHER ARBEITEN. Herausgegeben von K. Haebler. *Halle*, 1914. 8vo. *In progress*. R 35281

35-36. Germany. Einblattdrucke des xv. Jahrhunderts : ein bibliographisches Verzeichnis. Herausgegeben von der Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke.—1914.

WELSH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. [Publications.] *Aberystwyth*, 1914. 8vo. *In progress*. R 36316

Owen (R.) A bibliography of R. Owen, the Socialist, 1771-1858.

o10 BIBLIOGRAPHY : SPECIAL TOPICS.

AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.—NICHOLSON (John Page) Catalogue of library of . . . J. P. Nicholson . . . relating to the War of the rebellion, 1861-1866. [With frontispiece.] *Philadelphia*, 1914. 8vo, pp. 1022. R 39115

AMERICAN LITERATURE.—EVANS (Charles) American bibliography. . . . A chronological dictionary of all books, pamphlets and periodical publications printed in the United States of America from the genesis of printing in 1639 down to and including the year 1820. With bibliographical and biographical notes. . . . *Chicago* : privately printed, 1914. 4to. *In progress*. R 9929

8. 1790-1792.

BISMARCK.—SCHULZE (Paul) and KOLLER (Otto) Bismarck-Literatur. Bibliographische Zusammenstellung aller bis Ende März 1895 von und über Fürst Bismarck im deutschen Buchhandel erschienenen Schriften, mit Berücksichtigung der bekannteren ausländischen Literatur . . . Festschrift zum 1 April, 1895. *Leipzig*, [1895]. 8vo, pp. 70.

R 36999

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010 BIBLIOGRAPHY: SPECIAL TOPICS.

- BOOK AUCTIONS.**—**BRITISH MUSEUM** [Department of Printed Books.] List of catalogues of English book sales, 1676-1900, now in the British Museum. [With introduction by A. W. Pollard.] *London*, 1915. 8vo, pp. xv, 523. R 39063
- BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.**—**BENTON** (Josiah Henry) The book of common prayer and books connected with its origin and growth. Catalogue of the collection of J. H. Benton. . . . Second edition prepared by William Muss-Arnolt. . . . *Boston: privately printed*, 1914. 8vo, pp. viii, 142. R 37955
- CARTOGRAPHY.**—**FORDHAM** (*Sir* Herbert George) Studies in cartobibliography, British and French, and in the bibliography of itineraries and road-books. [With facsimiles.] *Oxford*, 1914. 8vo, pp. vii, 180. R 38198
- CHATTERTON.**—**HYETT** (Francis Adams) and **BAZELEY** (William) Chattertoniana: being a classified catalogue of books, pamphlets, magazine articles, and other printed matter, relating to the life or works of Chatterton, or to the Rowley controversy. Reprinted from the bibliographer's manual of Gloucestershire literature. . . . With numerous additions by F. A. H. *Gloucester*, 1914. 8vo, pp. 43. R 36143
- CHILD STUDY.**—**WILSON** (Louis N.) Representative books in child study. [Publications of the Clark University Library, 3, vi.] *Worcester, Mass.*, [1914]. 8vo, pp. 11. R 36064
- CRUNDEN.**—**BORSTWICK** (Arthur E.) Frederick Morgan Crunden: a memorial bibliography. [With plates.] *St. Louis*, 1914. 8vo, pp. 67. R 37452
- CUBA.**—**TRELLES** (Carlos M.) Bibliografía cubana del siglo xix. . . . *Matanzas*, 1914. 8vo. *In progress*. R 33986
7. 1886-1893.
- **TRELLES** (Carlos M.) Ensayo de bibliografía cubana de los siglos xvii y xviii. Seguido de unos apuntes para la bibliografía dominicana y portorriqueña. . . . (Suplemento.) [With preface, by Enrique José Varona.] *Matanzas*, 1907-08. 2 vols. in 1. 8vo. R 34947
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- **MARINELLO** (Angelo) La stampa della "Divina commedia" nei sec xvi e xvii. [With facsimile.] *Città di Castello*, 1915. 8vo, pp. 46. R 38586
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o1o BIBLIOGRAPHY: SPECIAL TOPICS.

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INCUNABULA.—COSENTINI (Francesco) *Gli incunaboli ed i tipografi piemontesi del secolo xv. Indici bibliografici.* [Turin.-Museo Nazionale del Libro.] Torino, [1914]. 8vo, pp. vi, 130. R 37905

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LATIN LANGUAGE.—ROWALD (Paul) *Repertorium lateinischer Wörterverzeichnisse und Speziallexika.* [Bibliotheca . . . Teubneriana. Supplementum Auctorum Latinorum.] Leipzig, Berlin, 1914. 8vo, pp. 22. R 35431

LITURGOLOGY.—MARTIN (Jean Baptiste) *Bibliographie liturgique de la France.* Macon, and Ligugé (Vienne), 1910-13. 2 vols. 8vo. R 38346

1. *Bibliographie liturgique de l'abbaye de Cluny.*—1910.

2. *Bibliographie liturgique de l'ordre des Chartreux.*—1913.

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LYONS.—BAUDRIER (Henri Louis) *Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVI^e siècle. . . . Publiées et continuées par J. Baudrier. . . . Onzième série. Ornée de . . . reproductions en fac-similé. Lyon, 1914. 8vo. R 8035*

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* * 500 copies printed. This copy is No. 46.

OPERAS.—WASHINGTON: LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. *Catalogue of Opera librettos printed before 1800. Prepared by Oscar George Theodore Sonneck. . . . [With portrait.] Washington, 1914. 2 vols. 8vo. R 36256*

1. Title catalogue.

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PERIODICAL INDEX.—READERS' GUIDE TO PERIODICAL LITERATURE. Thirteenth (-fourteenth) annual cumulation. Author and subject index to a selected list of periodicals and composite books. . . . *White Plains, N.Y., and New York, 1913, etc. 2 vols. 8vo. In progress. R 33988*

PORT ROYAL.—LONDON: SION COLLEGE. A complete catalogue of the Sion College "Port Royal Library," originally collected by Mrs. Schimmelpennick and presented to the college by the widow of . . . Robert Aitken, vicar of Pendeen, Cornwall, February, 1874, and of the collection of Port Royal portraits and other engravings subsequently presented by Miss Hankin. *Aberdeen, 1898. 8vo, pp. 39. R 37343*

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PSEUDONYMS.—HAMST (Olphar) *pseud. [i.e. Ralph Thomas]. Aggravating ladies: being a list of works published under the pseudonym of "A lady," with preliminary suggestions on the art of describing books bibliographically. . . . London, 1880. 8vo, pp. 58. R 15073*

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SPANISH LITERATURE.—BURGER (Conrad) Die Drucker und Verleger in Spanien und Portugal von 1501-1536. Mit chronologischer Folge ihrer Druck—und Verlagswerke. Zugleich ein Register zu Panzers Annalen u. s. w. . . . Mit einem Porträt des Verfassers nach einer Radierung von Lina Burger. *Leipzig*, 1913. 4to, pp. x, 84. R 35403

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1. Taylor (F. I.) A bibliography of unemployment and the unemployed. . .

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WATER RIGHTS.—WASHINGTON: LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. List of references on water rights and the control of waters. Compiled under the direction of Hermann H. B. Meyer . . . *Washington*, 1914. 8vo, pp. 111. R 37647

WEST INDIES.—CUNDALL (Frank) Bibliography of the West Indies, excluding Jamaica. [Institute of Jamaica.] *Kingston, Jamaica*, 1909. 8vo, pp. 179. R 37657

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CATALOGUES.—HUTH, *Family of*. Catalogue of the . . . library of printed books, illuminated manuscripts, autograph letters, and engravings collected by Henry Huth, and since maintained and augmented by his son, Alfred H. Huth. . . . The printed books and illuminated manuscripts. Fourth portion. Which will be sold by auction by . . . Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge . . . on . . . 7th of July, 1914, and three following days. [With plates.] *London*, 1914. 8vo. R 30994

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TOLLINTON (Richard Bartram) Clement of Alexandria: a study in
Christian liberalism. . . . [With map and plates.] *London*, 1914.
2 vols. 8vo. R 37374

WATTS (Isaac) An humble attempt toward the revival of practical religion
among Christians, and particularly the Protestant Dissenters, by a serious
address to ministers and people, in some occasional discourses. *London*,
1731. 12mo, pp. ix, 360. R 37371

WEBB (Clement Charles Julian) Studies in the history of natural theology.
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BIBLE: GERMAN.—Biblia Das ist / Die gantze Heylige Schrift /
Teutsch. D. Mart. Luth. Sampt einem Register / Summarien vber alle
Capitel / vnd schönen Figuren, M.D. LXII. [The woodcuts designed
by V. Solis.] ([Colophon:] *Getruckt zu Franckfurt am Main /
Dureh David Zopffeln / vnnnd Iohann Raschen / Im Iar nach Christi
Geburt / Tausent fünff hundert / vnd zwey vnd sechzig.*) 2 pts. in
1 vol. Fol. R 37525

* * * Title within woodcut border.

Gothic letter.

— Die Psalmen. Uebersetzt und ausgelegt von . . . Ferdinand
Hitzig. *Leipzig und Heidelberg*, 1863-65. 2 vols. 8vo. R 38236

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BIBLE: GREEK.—SCHMIDT (Erasmus) *Novi Testamenti Jesu Christi Græci, Hoc Est, Originalis Linguæ ταμίειον* [aliis Concordantiæ] Hactenus Usitato Correctius, Ordinatus, Distinctius, Plenius, Jam dudum à pluribus desideratum: Ita Concinnatum, Ut Et Loca reperiendi, & Vorum veras Significationes, & Significationum diversitates per Colationem investigandi, Ducis instar esse possit. Operâ Erasmi Schmidii Graec. L. & Mathem. Prof. . . . *Wittebergæ, Impensis hæredum Clementis Bergeri Bibliopol: Ex Officinâ Typographicâ Jobi Wilhelmi Fincelii.* An. clō 16 CXXXVIII. Fol. ff. [340]. R 36936

* * There is also an engraved title page.

— The gospel according to St. Matthew: the Greek text with introduction, notes and indices by Alan Hugh M'Neile. . . . *London, 1915* 8vo, pp. xxxvi, 448. R 39075

BIBLE: LATIN.—*Biblia cū concordantijs veteris z noui testamenti e sacrorum canonum: necnon z additionibus in marginibus varietati diuersoꝝ textuum: ac etiam canonibus antiquis quattuor euangeliorum Nouissime autem addite sunt concordatiæ ex viginti libris Josephi de antiquitatibus z bello iudaico excerpte.* [Printer's device beneath title.]—[Sig. R 5 verso, colophon:] . . . Accedūt ad hec ex viginti de antiquitatibus z indeoꝝ bello Josephi libris exhauste autoritates: quas . . . Ioānes de gradib⁹ cōcordantibus cōgruisq; apposuit locis. Impressa aūt Lugduni: per M. Jacobum Sacon. Expēsis . . . Antonii Koberger Nureburgensis. Feliciter explicit. Anno nostre salutis. 1521. Nouo Cal. Augusti. que est. 24. Julij.—[Sig. AA 1 recto:] Interpretationes nominū hebraicorū. [With woodcuts.] <Lyons: J. Sacon, 1521.> Fol. pp. [14], CCCXVII, [26]. R 37522

* * Title within border of woodcut blocks.

—  *Biblia sacra: integrū vtriusq; testamenti corpus cōplectēs diligenter recognita z emēdata. Cū concordatijs ac summijs simul e argumētis: ad toti⁹ intelligentiā biblie nō parū cōducētib⁹ Insup in calce eiusdē: annexe sunt nominū Hebraicorū / Chaldeorum atq; Grecorum accurate interpretationes.* [Printer's device beneath title.] [With woodcut.] ([Colophon:] *Parisiis, ex officina libraria yoland bonhomme, vidue spectabilis viri Thielmanni Keruer, sub signo vnicornis in vico sancti iacobi, vbi et venundatur.* M.D. xxxiiij. Octauo idus Januarij.) 8vo. R 37523

* * Imperfect, wanting N.T. and several leaves of O.T. Colophon supplied from Bibliography Society Catalogue. Title within border of woodcut blocks.

— *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatā quam Dicvnt Editionem, A Mendicantibus Qvibus innumeris partim scribarum incuria, partim sciorum audacia scatebat, summa cura parique fide repurgata atque ad priscorum probatissimorumque exemplariorum normam, adhibita interdum fontium autoritate, Ioannis Benedicti Parisiensis theologi industria restituta Annorumque a mundo creato ad Christum vsque natum supputatione illustrata. Adiecta est in fine Hebraicarum, Græcarum, cæterarumque*

220 BIBLE: TEXTS AND VERSIONS.

peregrinarum vocum cum illarum varia a nostra prolatione interpretatio. Quin & sententiarum insignium copiosum iuxta ac accurate collectum indicem suppegimus. Duo postremo indices etiamnum accessere, quorum prior quæ in scholiis notatu dignissima occurrere, alter vero insignium locorum nomina colligit. Quæ legenti signa passim occurrent, epistola nuncupatoria 2. pag. manifestabit. Secunda editio. *Parisiis Prostant apud Carolam Guillard, & Gulielmum Desboys, sub sole aureo, via ad diuum Jacobum.* 1552. ([Colophon:] *Parisiis Excudebat Benedictus Prenotius, sub stella aurea, via Frementella.* Anno domini M.D. LII.) 2 pts. in 1 vol. 4to. R 37524

BIBLE: LATIN.—Sacra Biblia, Acri Stvdio, Ac Diligentia Emendata, Rerum, atque Verborum permultis, & perquam dignis Indicibus aucta. . . . [With woodcuts.] ([Colophon:] *Venetis Apvd Iolitos.* M.D.LXXXVIII.) 2 pts. in 1 vol. 4to. R 37526

. Title within woodcut border.

— Cornelii Iansenii Episcopi Gandavensis Paraphrasis In Omnes Psalmos Davidicos Cvm Argvmentis Et Annotationibvs: Itemq. in Prouerbia, & Ecclesiasticum Commentaria, veterisq. Testamenti Ecclesiæ Cantica, ac in Sapientiam Notæ. In quibus omnibus hoc agitur, vt sublatis mendis, quæ in nostram lectionem irrepserunt, genuina lectio retineatur, & vt ex collatione facta cum originalibus Hebræis & Græcis sensus habeatur qui illis consentiat, aut proxime accedat. Cum Indice rerum & verborum locupletissimo, Cui iam postremo accessit alter locorum S. Scripturæ Index, quæ in hoc opere citantur ac elucidantur. [With engravings.] *Antverpiæ, Ex Typographia Gisleni Iansenii Ad inter-signe Galli Vigilis.* M. DC. XIV. . . . 2 pts. in 1 vol. Fol. R 35758

— Liber Ardmachanus. The book of Armagh. Edited with introduction and appendices by John Gwynn . . . [With facsimiles.] [Royal Irish Academy.] *Dublin*, 1913. 4to, pp. ccxc, 503. R 35433

. 400 copies printed. This copy is No. 247.

— Der Lambeth-Psalter: eine altenglische Interlinear-version des Psalters in der Hs. 427 der erzbischöflichen Lambeth Palace Library. . . . Herausgegeben von U. Lindelöf. [Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ, 35, i. 43, iii.] *Helsingfors*, 1909-14. 2 vols in 1. 4to. R 36163

220 BIBLE: GENERAL AIDS TO STUDY.

ABBOTT (Edwin Abbott) Diatessarica. *Cambridge*, 1914-15. 8vo. *In progress.* R 7935

10, ii. The fourfold gospel. . . . The beginning . . . 1914.

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- BAIKIE (James) Lands and peoples of the Bible. . . . Containing . . . full-pages of illustrations . . . and a map. *London*, 1914. 8vo, pp. xii, 288. R 38516
- CANTON (William) The Bible and the Anglo-Saxon people. [With plates.] *London*, 1914. 8vo, pp. xi, 284. R 37500
- ÉTUDES BIBLIQUES. *Paris*, 1907. 8vo. *In progress*.
 Dhorme (Paul) Choix de textes religieux assyro-babyloniens. Transcription, traduction, commentaire par . . . P. Dhorme . . . 1907. 8vo. R 35119
- HOSKIER (Herman C.) Codex B and its allies: a study and an indictment. . . . *London*, 1914. 2 vols. 8vo. R 37445
- ILLINGWORTH (John Richardson) The gospel miracles: an essay, with two appendices. . . . *London*, 1915. 8vo, pp. xvii, 213. R 38552
- INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY. The international critical commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Under the editorship of . . . Samuel Rolles Driver . . . Alfred Plummer . . . and . . . Charles Augustus Briggs . . . *Edinburgh*, 1915. 8vo. *In progress*. R 3506
 A critical and exegetical commentary on the Second epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians. By . . . A. Plummer.—1915.
- JONES (Maurice) The New Testament in the twentieth century: a survey of recent Christological and historical criticism of the New Testament. *London*, 1914. 8vo. pp. xxiv, 467. R 39091
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- SADOLETO (Jacopo) Cardinal. I. Sddoleti Episcopi Carpentoractis Interpretatio in Psalmum Miserere mei Deus. *Haganoæ, per Iohan. Secerium*. Anno M.D. XXVI. 8vo. ff. [35]. R 37513

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GRONAU (Carl) Poseidonios und die jüdisch-christliche Genesisexegese. . . . *Leipzig, Berlin*, 1914. 8vo, pp. viii, 313. R 35848

LAUNAY (Pierre de) *Sieur de La Motte et de Vauferlan*. Paraphrase et exposition sur les epistres de Saint Paul. Avec deux indices, l'un des principales doctrines enseignées par l'apostre. L'autre des hebraïsmes qui sont expliquez en cette exposition. *Charenton*, 1650. 2 vols. 4to. R 35477

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— TONDELLI (Leone) Le odi di Salomone: cantici Cristiani degli inizi del II secolo. Versione dal Siriaco, introduzione e note. Prefazione del. . . . Angelo Mercati. . . . *Roma*, 1914. 8vo, pp. xvi, 268. R 36874

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- FIGGIS** (John Neville) The fellowship of the mystery: being the Bishop Paddock lectures delivered at the General Theological Seminary, New York, during Lent, 1913. . . . *London*, 1914. 8vo, pp. xv, 300. R 37927
- HARRIS** (Charles) Pro fide: a defence of natural and revealed religion; being a text-book of modern apologetics for students of theology and others. . . . New and augmented edition. . . . *London*, 1914. 8vo, pp. lxxvii, 575. R 38517
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- SHARPE** (Charles Henry) Catholicism and life. *London*, 1913. 8vo, pp. xxxi, 213. R 39090
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- ESCHATOLOGY.—BROUGHTON (Herbert) The spirit disembodied. When we die we do not fall asleep : we only change our place. *Edinburgh*, 1867. 8vo, pp. x, 271.
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- UNKNOWN COUNTRY. That unknown country, or what living men believe concerning punishment after death. Together with recorded views of men of former times. . . . Illustrated. . . . *Springfield, Mass.*, 1889. 8vo, pp. 943.
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- CREEDS.—LUTHERAN CHURCH. Libri symbolici ecclesiae Lutheranae. Cum appendice quinquepartita edidit Fridericus Francke. . . . Editio stereotypa. *Lipsiæ*, 1847. 4 pts. in 1 vol. 8vo.
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- APOLOGETICS.—PEABODY (Francis Greenwood) The Christian life in the modern world. (The sixth series of John Calvin McNair Lectures at the University of North Carolina in 1913, expanded and revised.) *New York*, 1914. 8vo, pp. vii, 234.
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- FLETCHER (Phineas) Joy In Tribulation. Or, Consolations For Afflicted Spirits. . . . *London* : Printed for James Boler, dwelling at the signe of the Marigold in Paul's Church-yard, 1632. 12mo, pp. [14], 339.
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* * Title within border of woodcut blocks.

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LITURGIES: A revised liturgy: being the order of the administration of the Lord's Supper according to the use of the Church of England with divers enrichments and alterations. Edited by B. W. Randolph. . . . With an introduction by J. H. Maude. . . . *London*, [1914]. 8vo, pp. 56. R 38690

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1. J. Hart.—1910.

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— RAYNALDUS (Odoricus) *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII. ubi desinit Cardinalis Baronius. . . Accedunt in hac editione notæ chronologicæ, criticæ, historicæ, quibus Raynaldi Annales illustrantur . . . emendantur, auctore Joanne Dominico Mansi. . .* *Lucæ*, 1747-56. 15 vols. Fol.

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EUCLID. Evclidis elementorum libri Qvindecim. [Printer's device beneath title.] *Parisiis, Ex Typographia Thomæ Richardi, sub Bibliis aureis, è regione collegij Remensis*, 1558. 4to, ff. 44. R 39108

MORSIANUS (Christianus Torchillus) Arithmetica brevis ac dilucida C. T. Morsiani in quinqs partes digesta. *Coloniæ*, M.D.XXVIII. 8vo, ff. [32]. R 37535

RINGELBERGIUS (Joachimus Fortius) Ioachimi Fortij Ringelbergij Andouerpiani Arithmetica. [Printer's device beneath title.] *Parisiis, Ex officina Gabriëlis Buon, in clauso Brunello, ad D. Claudij insigne*, 1562. 4to. ff. 8. R 39107

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BACOT (Jacques) Les Mo-so. Ethnographie des Mo-so, leurs religions, leur langue et leur écriture. . . . Avec les documents historiques et géographiques relatifs à Likiang par Ed. Chavannes. . . . Ouvrage contenant . . . planches . . . et une carte. . . . [Collection de l'Institut Ethnographique International de Paris.] *Leide*, 1913. 8vo, pp. vi, 218. R 35278

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HOWLEY (James P.) *The Beothucks, or Red Indians: the aboriginal inhabitants of Newfoundland.* [With plates and illustrations.] *Cambridge*, 1915. 4to, pp. xx, 348. R 39114

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SMITH (William Ramsay) *Australian conditions and problems from the standpoint of present anthropological knowledge.* . . . Presidential address to the Section of Anthropology of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, Melbourne, 1913. (Reprinted from Report of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, Melbourne Meeting, 1913. Vol. xiv.) *Melbourne*, 1913. 8vo, pp. 24. R 38686

SOLLAS (William Johnson) *Ancient hunters and their modern representatives.* [Second edition.] [With plates and illustrations.] *London*, 1915. 8vo, pp. xxiii, 591. R 38520

TALBOT (D. Amaury) *Woman's mysteries of a primitive people: the Ibibios of Southern Nigeria.* . . . With . . . illustrations. . . . *London*, 1915. 8vo, pp. viii, 251. R 39017

590 NATURAL SCIENCE: ZOOLOGY.

BUECHNER (Friedrich Carl Christian Ludwig) *La vida psíquica de los animales.* . . . Obra traducida del alemán por A. Ocina y Aparicio. *Madrid*, 1881. 8vo, pp. 456. R 30583

FOWLER (William Warde) *A year with the birds.* . . . With illustrations by Bryan Hook. [Third edition. New impression.] *London*, 1914. 8vo, pp. xv, 265. R 39094

THORBURN (Archibald) *British birds.* Written and illustrated by A. Thorburn. . . . *London*, 1915. 4to. *In progress.* R 38482

610 USEFUL ARTS: ANATOMY.

VESALIUS (Andreas) *Andreae Vesalii Bruxellensis, Invictissimi Caroli V. Imperatoris medici, de Humani corporis fabrica. Libri septem.* [With woodcuts.] *Basileae, Per Ioannem Oporinum.* ([Colophon:] . . . Anno Salutis per Christvm partæ MDLV. Mense Augusto.) Fol. pp. [12], 824, [46]. R 37544

640 USEFUL ARTS: FURNITURE.

- LENYGON (Francis) Furniture in England from 1660 to 1760. [With illustrations.] *London*, [1914]. 4to, pp. x, 300. R 37684

650 USEFUL ARTS: PRINTING AND PUBLISHING.

- ALDIS (Harry Gidney) Book production and distribution, 1625-1800. (Reprinted from *The Cambridge history of English literature. Volume XI*, 1914). [*Cambridge*, 1914.] 8vo, pp. 32. R 37459

* * The title is taken from the wrapper.

- LACOMBE (Paul) Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au xve et au xvie siècle. [Extrait du Bulletin du Bibliophile.] *Paris*, 1914. 8vo, pp. 15. R 39023

* * 50 copies printed.

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- VERMIGLIOLI (Giovanni Battista) Principj della stampa in Perugia e suoi progressi per tutto il secolo XV. Nuovamente illustrati accresciuti e corretti in questa seconda edizione. . . . *Perugia*, 1820. 8vo, pp. viii, 209. R 35641

700 FINE ARTS: GENERAL.

- PARIS: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Fondation Eugene Piot. Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres sous la direction de Georges Perrot et Robert de Lasteyrie . . . avec le concours de Paul Jamot . . . Tome vingtième. [With plates and illustrations.] *Paris*, 1913. 4to. *In progress*. R 21797

- BOSANQUET (Bernard) Three lectures on æsthetic. *London*, 1915. 8vo, pp. ix, 118. R 38521

- COOMARASWAMY (Ananda K.) Viśvakarmā: examples of Indian architecture, sculpture, painting, handicraft, chosen by A. K. Coomaraswamy. . . . *London*, 1914. 4to. *In progress*. R 33828

1. One hundred examples of Indian sculpture: with an introduction by E. Gill.

- PARIS: Exposition Rétrospective de l'Art Décoratif Français, 1900. L'exposition rétrospective de l'art décoratif français. Description par G. Migeon. . . . Avec une introduction par . . . E. Molinier. . . . *Paris*, [1901]. 1 vol. in 2. Fol. R 17487

* * 200 copies printed. This copy is No. 70.

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Objets d'art du moyen âge et de la renaissance.

- SETA (Alessandro della) *Religion & art: a study in the evolution of sculpture, painting and architecture.* . . . Translated by Marion C. Harrison. With a preface by Mrs. Arthur Strong . . . and . . . illustrations. *London*, [1914]. 8vo, pp. 415. R 37667

720 FINE ARTS: ARCHITECTURE.

- BLOMFIELD (Reginald) *Architectural drawing, and draughtsmen.* . . . With . . . illustrations. *London*, 1912. 4to, pp. xii, 96. R 39120

- BOERSCHMANN (Ernst) *Die Baukunst und religiöse Kultur der Chinesen: Einzeldarstellungen auf Grund eigener Aufnahmen während dreijähriger Reisen in China.* . . . (Mit . . . Bildern und . . . Tafeln). *Berlin*, 1911-14. 2 vols. 4to. R 36263

- CLARK (George Thomas) *Mediæval military architecture in England.* . . . With illustrations. . . . *London*, 1884. 2 vols. 8vo. R 38532

- COX (John Charles) *The English parish church: an account of the chief building types & of their materials during nine centuries.* [With illustrations.] *London*, [1914]. 8vo, pp. xix, 338. R 37502

- HAVELL (Ernest Binfield) *The ancient and medieval architecture of India: a study of Indo-Aryan civilisation.* . . . With . . . illustrations and map. *London*, 1915. 4to, pp. xxxv, 230. R 38247

- PARKER (John Henry) *The architectural antiquities of the city of Wells.* . . . Illustrated. . . . *Oxford and London*, 1866. 8vo, pp. viii, 91. R 29838

- SADLEIR (Thomas Ulick) and DICKINSON (Page L.) *Georgian mansions in Ireland; with some account of the evolution of Georgian architecture and decoration.* [With plates and illustrations.] *Dublin*, 1915. 4to, pp. xx, 103. R 38590

- SCOTT (Sir George Gilbert) *Remarks on secular & domestic architecture, present & future.* . . . *London*, 1857. 8vo, pp. xii, 285. R 32351

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- COX (John Charles) *Pulpits, lecterns & organs in English churches.* . . . With . . . illustrations. *Oxford*, 1915. 8vo, pp. xi, 228. R 38879

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DUVEEN (Edward J.) Colour in the home ; with notes on architecture, sculpture, painting, and upon decoration and good taste. . . . With . . . illustrations. . . . *London*, [1912]. 4to, pp. ix, 167. R 38545

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4. Lombardia, zecche minori.

AMSTERDAM: Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen. Beschreibung der griechischen autonomen Münzen im Besitze der Kön. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Amsterdam. [By U. P. Boissevain.] [With plates.] *Amsterdam*, 1912. 4to, pp. 260. R 36988

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BURTON (William) Porcelain ; a sketch of its nature, art and manufacture. With . . . plates. *London*, 1906. 8vo, pp. viii, 264. R 39098

CHAFFERS (William) The new collector's hand-book of marks and monograms on pottery & porcelain of the renaissance and modern periods. . . . Chiefly selected from his larger work entitled "Marks and monograms on pottery and porcelain". A new edition, 1914, revised and considerably augmented by Frederick Litchfield. . . . *London*, 1914. 8vo, pp. x, 363. R 37356

EARLE (Cyril) The Earle collection of early Staffordshire pottery, illustrating over seven hundred . . . pieces. (Deposited in the Hull City Museum.) By . . . C. Earle. . . . With an introduction by Frank Falkner, and a supplementary chapter by T. Sheppard. . . . Containing . . . reproductions. . . . *London*, [1915]. 4to, pp. xlv, 240. R 39127

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HOBSON (Robert L.) Chinese pottery and porcelain: an account of the potter's art in China from primitive times to the present day. . . . Plates. . . . *London*, 1915. 2 vols. 8vo. R 38527

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KAYE (Walter Jenkinson) *the Younger*. Roman and other triple vases. . . . With a preface by . . . J. T. Fowler. [Reprinted from the *Antiquary*.] [With plates and illustrations.] *London*, 1914. 8vo, pp. 40. R 38846

SOLON (M. Louis) A history and description of the old French faïence, with an account of the revival of faïence painting in France. . . . With a preface by William Burton. . . . Containing . . . plates . . . together with reproductions of marks. . . . *London*, 1903. 8vo, pp. xvi, 192. R 39097

PERRY (John Tavenor-) *Dinanderie*: a history and description of mediæval art work in copper, brass and bronze. . . . With . . . illustrations. *London*, 1910. 4to, pp. xii, 238. R 39122

740 FINE ARTS: CARICATURE.

DYSON (William Henry) *Kultur cartoons*. . . . Foreword by H. G. Wells. *London*, [1915]. Fol. R 38697

*. * 500 copies printed. This copy is No. 17.

740 FINE ARTS: TAPESTRY.

THOMSON (W. G.) *Tapestry weaving in England from the earliest times to the end of the XVIIIth century*. [With illustrations.] *London*, [1914]. 4to, pp. x, 172. R 37686

750 FINE ARTS: PAINTING.

BLAKE (William) *Life of William Blake, "pictor ignotus"*. With selections from his poems and other writings. By . . . Alexander Gilchrist. . . . Illustrated from Blake's own works in facsimilé by W. J. Linton, and in photolithography; with a few of Blake's original plates. [Edited by Anne Gilchrist with the assistance of D. G. Rossetti.] *London and Cambridge*, 1863. 2 vols. 8vo. R 38245

MICHIELS (Joseph Alfred Xavier) *Rubens et l'école d'Anvers*. . . . Quatrième édition revue et augmentée. *Paris*, 1877. 8vo, pp. vii, 378. R 38576

OSMASTON (Francis Plumtre Beresford) *The art and genius of Tintoret*. [With plates.] *London*, 1915. 2 vols. 4to. R 38887

PROUT (Samuel) *Sketches by S. Prout in France, Belgium, Germany, Italy and Switzerland*. Edited by Charles Holme. Text by Ernest G. Halton. *London*, 1915. 4to, pp. 26. R 38256

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760 FINE ARTS: ENGRAVING.

AMES (Joseph) *A catalogue of English heads : or, an account of about two thousand prints, describing what is peculiar on each. . . . [Being an index to the collection of prints in the possession of J. Nickolls.]* London, 1748. 8vo, pp. 182. R 33278

BEAUCHAMP (Richard) *13th Earl of Warwick. Pageant of the birth, life, and death of R. Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G., 1389-1439. Edited by Viscount Dillon . . . and W. H. St. John Hope. . . . Photo-engraved from the original manuscript in the British Museum by Emery Walker. . . .* London, 1914. 4to, pp. x, 109. R 36198

BURCH (R. M.) *Colour printing and colour printers. . . . With a chapter on modern processes by W. Gamble. Second edition. [With plates.]* London, 1910. 8vo, pp. xviii, 280. R 39099

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1. Pennell (E. R.) *Lithography and lithographers : some chapters in the history of the art. . . . Together with descriptions and technical explanations of modern artistic methods by J. Pennell.*

LEISCHING (Julius) *Schabkunst: ihre Technik und Geschichte in ihren Hauptwerken vom xvii. bis zum xx. Jahrhundert. [With plates.]* Wien, 1913. 4to, pp. vi, 98. R 36756

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PERROUT (René) *Les images d'Épinal. Nouvelle édition. Préface par Maurice Barrès. . . . [With illustrations.]* Paris, [191-]. 4to, pp. x, 160. R 36204

STRANG (William) *William Strang: catalogue of his etched work. Illustrated with . . . reproductions. With an introductory essay by Laurence Binyon. Glasgow, 1906. 8vo, pp. xvi, 210. R 38096*

— [A series of etchings by W. Strang illustrating some of R. Kipling's stories.] [1900.] 4to. R 25674

780 FINE ARTS: MUSIC.

STRANGWAYS (Arthur Henry Fox) *The music of Hindostan. Oxford, 1914. 8vo, pp. x, 364. R 39198*

WALLASCHEK (Richard) *Primitive music : an inquiry into the origin and development of music, songs, instruments, dances, and pantomimes of savage races. With musical examples. London, 1893. 8vo, pp. xi, 326. R 39203*

780 FINE ARTS: MUSIC.

WASHINGTON: Library of Congress.—Division of Music. "The star spangled banner." Revised and enlarged from the "Report" on the above and other airs, issued in 1909. By Oscar George Theodore Sonneck. . . . [With plates.] *Washington*, 1914. 8vo, pp. 115.
R 37675

WALTERS (Henry Beauchamp) The church bells of Shropshire: their founders, inscriptions, traditions and uses. . . . With . . . plates and . . . illustrations. . . . *Oswestry*, 1915. 4to, pp. v, 485. R 38591

790 FINE ARTS: AMUSEMENTS.

BERNES (Juliana) *Dame*. The boke of Saint Albans . . . containing treatises on hawking, hunting, and cote armour: printed at Saint Albans by the schoolmaster-printer in 1486, reproduced in facsimile. With an introduction by William Blades. . . . *London*, [1900]. 4to, pp. 32.
R 38375

— A treatyse of fysshynge wyth an angle. . . . Being a facsimile reproduction of the first book on the subject of fishing printed in England by Wynkyn de Worde at Westminster in 1496. With an introduction by . . . M. G. Watkins. . . . *London*, [188-]. 4to. R 38396

FITZGERALD (Percy Hetherington) The Garrick Club. [With portraits.] *London*, 1904. 4to, pp. xviii, 252. R 38377

INCHBALD (Elizabeth) Memoirs of Mrs. Inchbald: including her familiar correspondence with the most distinguished persons of her time. To which are added The massacre, and A case of conscience . . . published from her autograph copies. Edited by James Boaden. . . . [With portrait.] *London*, 1833. 2 vols. 8vo. R 19005

MERCURIALIS (Hieronymus) Hieronymi-Mercvrialis, De Arte Gymnastica, Libri Sex: In quibus exercitationum omnium vetustarum genera, loca, modi, facultates, & quidquid denique ad corporis humani exercitationes pertinet, diligenter explicatur. Secunda editione aucti, & multis figuris ornati. Opus non modo medicis, verumetiam omnibus antiquarum rerum cognoscendarum, & valetudinis conseruandæ studiosis admodum vtile. . . . *Parisiis, Apud Iacobum du Puits, via D. Ioannis Lateranensis, sub signo Samaritanæ*, 1577. 4to, ff. [4], 201 [error for 200], [13].
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*. * 500 copies printed. This copy is No. 392.

(To be continued.)

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BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY MANCHESTER

VOL. 3

APRIL-DECEMBER, 1916

NOS. 2 and 3

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

AN exhibition to commemorate the Three-hundredth Anniversary of the Death of Shakespeare was arranged in the main library, and opened on the Wednesday preceding the actual date of the anniversary (the 23rd of April), which fell on Easter Sunday.

THE
SHAKE-
SPEARE
COMMEMO-
RATION.

The object which was kept in view in the selection and arrangement of the exhibits, was to show the unfolding of Shakespeare's mind as it is reflected in his works. This we sought to accomplish by exhibiting, not only such of the original and early editions of the poet's writings as the library possesses, but also the principal sources which he employed in their composition.

As a result we were able to bring together copies of the actual editions of the principal works to which Shakespeare had access, probably upon the shelves of his own library, since they are known to be the authorities whence he drew the foundation plots, stories, and other illustrative matter, which, after passing through the crucible of his mind, were transformed into the living and lasting reality which we find enshrined in his immortal works.

Of Shakespeare's own works we have been able to exhibit two sets of the four folios, and an interesting copy of the surreptitiously printed "Sonnets" of 1609, which made its first appearance in June, the identical month in which Edward Alleyn, the contemporary actor, and founder of Dulwich College, purchased a copy for 5d., the same figure as that which appears in manuscript on the title-page of the one exhibited. Of the original quartos of the plays, the library does not possess a single example; therefore, for the purpose of illustrating the order of publication of the plays and poems, which were printed either with or without authority during the author's lifetime, we have had recourse to the excellent facsimiles which have appeared from time to time.

In addition to what may be described as the direct sources, we have included an interesting selection of contemporary works of a more general character, with which Shakespeare was certainly familiar, and which may be described as his general reference books. As an indication of the character of these works, mention may be made of the following : William Camden's "Britannia" ; John Florio's "World of Words" and "Second Fruits" ; Leonard Digges' "Pantometria," in which there is a description of the invention of the "camera obscura," which in its modern form is known as the "periscope," which is attributed to Digges ; Randle Cotgrave's "French Dictionary" ; "Dives Pragmaticus" ; Richard Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations" ; and Saxton's "Atlas".

Another of the exhibition cases has been devoted to contemporary writings, which are of topographical or historical interest as bearing directly upon Shakespeare and his times, or which contain allusions to the poet, such as "England's Parnassus" ; Heywood's "Apology for Actors" ; the unique copy of "Ratsei's Ghost" in which the author seems to make a sarcastic reflection on Shakespeare, who, a few years earlier, had purchased New Place, Stratford, out of his professional earnings.

Finally, we have assembled a collection of school-books, many of which were current in Shakespeare's day. These serve to convey some idea of the character and standard of the education which obtained in England, not only at the time of our poet, but also in the earlier part of the sixteenth century. Amongst the works exhibited are : the little grammar "Rudimenta Grammatices" prepared by Cardinal Wolsey for the use of the college at Ipswich, which he had established in succession to the old grammar school ; the first book wholly on arithmetic to be printed in England, the author of which was Cuthbert Tunstall, successively Bishop of London and Durham ; and the treatise on education entitled "The Schoolmaster," by Roger Ascham, the tutor of Queen Elizabeth, in which he testifies warmly to Her Majesty's learning.

The purpose which this and similar exhibitions are intended to serve, is to reveal to the public, and especially to students, the wealth of material available to them, in the library, for the study of the subjects dealt with. If we may judge from the large number of people, including numerous groups of students from the schools and colleges in

and around Manchester, who, with evident enjoyment, and avowed benefit, have visited the present exhibition, as well as from the appreciative notices which have appeared in the press, we venture to believe that the purpose has been fully achieved.

It may interest our readers to know that the exhibition will remain on view until the early months of the new year.

With a view to increase the educational value of the exhibition, and also to mark the occasion, a descriptive catalogue or hand-book has been issued, in which, by means of annotations to the various entries, full and accurate information is given as to the bibliographical peculiarities, and other features of interest possessed by the respective exhibits. In the case of Shakespeare's own works, brief notes as to the sources have been appended to each of the plays, with an indication of the precise location in the exhibition and the catalogue of the works to which reference is made.

SHAKE-
SPEARE EX-
HIBITION
CATA-
LOGUE.

A brief sketch of Shakespeare's life and times, followed by a chronological table of the principal events connected with and surrounding the poet and his writings, has been prefixed to the catalogue, which concludes with a sixteen-page selected list of works for the study of Shakespeare, which may be consulted in the library.

The volume, which extends to 180 pages, and is illustrated with sixteen facsimiles of the title-pages of some of the rarer and most interesting of the works exhibited, may be obtained from the usual agents at the price of one shilling (postage 4d.).

The commemoration was further marked by the delivery of two lectures by Professor Richard G. Moulton, of Chicago University, on "Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist," and "Shakespeare as a Dramatic Thinker". On each occasion the hall was filled to overflowing, long before the advertised hour of the lecture, whilst hundreds of people were unable to gain admission. The lectures were full of inspiration and suggestion. The lecturer with his accustomed power seemed to cast a spell over his audience, as he revealed to them new beauties in the works of the dramatist, and opened out new avenues of study.

SHAKE-
SPEARE
COMMEM-
ORATION
LECTURES.

Arrangements were also made with Mr. William Poel, the Founder and Director of the Elizabethan Stage Society, to deliver a lecture upon "Shakespeare's Stage and Plays". Unfortunately, a

sudden attack of influenza prevented Mr. Poel from fulfilling his engagement, and in his unavoidable absence the Librarian lectured on "Why we honour Shakespeare".

WILLIAM
POEL ON
SHAKE-
SPEARE'S
STAGE AND
PLAYS.

We are glad, however, to be able to present our readers, in the present issue, with the substance of Mr. Poel's lecture. Unfortunately it is in cold print, and lacks the vitalizing personality of the lecturer, but in it some new and interesting theories are advanced which will be read with considerable interest, although they are not likely to pass unchallenged.

The article has been issued also in a separate form, at the price of one shilling, and may be obtained from the usual agents.

Our own exhibition has been admirably supplemented in Manchester, at the Whitworth Art Gallery, by an interesting and instructive exhibition of pictorial Shakespeareana, which was designed to illustrate, principally by means of pictures, the history of our national poet and the representation of his works. It includes portraits of Shake-

WHIT-
WORTH
PICTORIAL
SHAKE-
SPEARE
EXHIBI-
TION.

speare, his patrons, his critics, his commentators, as well as of actors; with topographical illustrations including the play-houses, a long series of play-bills, medals, tokens, busts, etc. The arrangement of the material is excellent, and we offer our congratulations to the Governors of the Whitworth Institute and to the Curator, upon the success which has attended their enterprise in organizing an exhibition, which as a pendant to the John Rylands collection has done much to increase the educational value of Manchester's Tercentenary Commemoration.

Elsewhere in the present issue we print the fourth list of contributions to the new library for the University of Louvain, furnishing fresh evidence of the generous and widespread interest which our appeal on behalf of the crippled University has called forth.

LOUVAIN
LIBRARY
RECON-
STRUCTION.

Already upwards of 8000 volumes have been actually received, and in themselves form an excellent beginning of the new library. Yet, when it is realized that the collection of books, so ruthlessly and senselessly destroyed at Louvain, numbered nearly a quarter of a million of volumes, it will be evident that if the work of replacement, which we have inaugurated, is to be accomplished, very much more remains to be done.

It is with confidence that we renew our appeal for prompt offers of suitable books, or monetary contributions, to help us in this endeavour to restore, at least in some measure, the resources of the crippled and exiled University, by the provision of a library adequate in every respect to meet the requirements of the case, so as to be in readiness for the time of her restoration.

Arrangements have been made for the delivery of the following lectures during the ensuing session.

FORTH-
COMING
LIBRARY
LECTURES.

EVENING LECTURES (7.30 p.m.).

Wednesday, 11th October, 1916. "The Quintessence of Paulinism." By Arthur S. Peake, M.A., D.D., Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th November, 1916. "Dragons and Rain Gods." (Illustrated with Lantern Pictures.) By G. Elliot Smith, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Anatomy in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 13th December, 1916. "Mediaeval Town Planning." By T. F. Tout, M.A., F.B.A., Bishop Fraser Professor of Mediaeval and Ecclesiastical History in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th January, 1917. "The Problem of Indian Land Revenue in the Eighteenth Century." By J. Ramsay B. Muir, M.A., Professor of Modern History in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th February, 1917. "The Poetry of Lucretius." By C. H. Herford, M.A., Litt.D., Professor of English Literature in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th March, 1917. "A Puritan Idyll: Richard Baxter (1615-1691) and his Love Story." By Frederick J. Powicke, M.A., Ph.D.

Wednesday, 18th April, 1917. "Shakespeare's 'Lear': A Moral Problem Dramatized." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

Friday, 20th April, 1917. "Fiction as the Experimental Side of Human Philosophy." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D.

AFTERNOON LECTURES (3 p.m.).

Tuesday, 17th October, 1916. "The Origin of the Cult of Aphrodite." (Illustrated with Lantern Pictures.) By J. Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., etc., Hon. Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge.

Tuesday, 2nd January, 1917. "Sir Thomas More and his 'Utopia.'"¹ By Foster Watson, M.A., D.Lit., Emeritus Professor in the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and Lecturer in Rhetoric in Gresham College, London.

Tuesday, 6th March, 1917. "Shakespeare's Theatre." (Illustrated by One Hundred Lantern Pictures.) By William Poel, Founder and Director of the Elizabethan Stage Society.

Mrs. Emmott, of Birkenhead, has generously presented to the library, in memory of her husband, the late Professor Emmott, of Liverpool University, a collection of books, numbering nearly 300 volumes, dealing with Roman Law and Comparative Law and Jurisprudence, in the hope that it may stimulate others to take an interest in a study in which the late Professor was himself so deeply interested.

IMPOR-
TANT GIFT
OF LAW
BOOKS.

This collection forms a most welcome addition to our shelves, since it enables us to strengthen an important section of the library, which, hitherto, has been only very inadequately developed.

During the process of registering and cataloguing the gift, it was found that a certain number of the works were already in the library. These volumes, with the kind consent of Mrs. Emmott, have been added to the Louvain collection.

Professor George Henry Emmott, whose memory, henceforth, will be perpetuated in the annals of this library, was the eldest of five sons of the late Thomas Emmott, of Brookfield, Oldham. He was born in 1855, and was educated, first at the Friends' School, Stramongate, Kendal, and afterwards at Owens College, Manchester, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took a First Class in the Law Tripos, in 1878. On leaving the University he read law in the chambers of Mr. Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, and was called to the Bar in 1879. Shortly afterwards

THE LATE
PROFESSOR
EMMOTT.

¹In commemoration of the first publication of "Utopia" at Louvain in February, 151 $\frac{6}{7}$.

he took chambers in Manchester, and was appointed Lecturer on English Law in Owens College. In 1881 he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Mr. Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, and for the next five years made his home at Wilmslow.

Then came a call to a professorship in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, where for ten years he entered with zest into all the activities of the University life, his work being principally with post-graduate students in Roman Law and Comparative Jurisprudence. For five years he was also Lecturer on Civil Law in Columbia University, Washington.

During the whole of his residence in America Professor Emmott made an annual visit to England to see his parents, and in 1896, on being offered the Queen Victoria Chair of Law in University College, now the University of Liverpool, he decided to return permanently. For twenty years he held this Chair, being Dean of his Faculty for nearly thirteen years, and continued his work up to the very end, delivering his last lecture on the day before his lamented death, which took place on the 8th of March, 1916.

Speaking at the University Senate, the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Alfred Dale, paid a graceful tribute to the memory of his late colleague. "How Emmott served us here we all know ; the endless pains he took over his work ; the quiet ardour with which he spent himself in helping others ; how much more ready as a teacher he was to give than most pupils are ready to receive. Except on formal business he seldom spoke in this room, but we valued his opinions, trusted his judgment, and when he spoke, could always be sure of this, that the last thing he thought of was his own interest and himself. Vanity, display, and self-seeking, he not only avoided, but abhorred. He was a man that even in these distracted days we shall not soon forget, and we shall always remember him as one who obeyed an inner law, and followed an inner light. . . ."

Of the strength and soundness of his work Professor Maitland held a very high opinion, which was in itself a fine and rare distinction.

Of Quaker parentage Professor Emmott was throughout his life intimately associated with the Society of Friends. He was a great book-lover, and had a large and well-chosen library, in which he delighted to spend his leisure hours among never-failing friends.

Among the recent acquisitions of the library is a collection of manuscripts, numbering forty pieces, of undetermined antiquity, in the language of the Mo-so people. These manuscripts are of considerable importance, since they represent the largest group in this particular script to be brought into Europe. They were acquired through the instrumentality of Mr. George Forrest, who obtained them in the remote and little-known country of their origin, whence he returned only a few months since.

MANU-
SCRIPTS IN
THE MO-SO
LANGUAGE.

The manuscripts are mostly oblong in shape, measuring about three inches in height by ten inches in width, and are written in picture characters, on a thick Oriental paper of uneven texture, apparently brown with age.

The Mo-so are a non-Chinese race scattered throughout Southern China, but their stronghold, and the seat of their traditions, is the prefecture of Li-Kiang-fou, called in Tibetan "Sa-dam," and in Mo-so "Ye-gu," which is in the north-west of Yun-nan.

The present prefect traces his descent to a line of kings that go back as far as the year 618.

Travellers from the days of Marco Polo have made reference to this people, but until quite recent years no attempt has been made to deal with their history and language, probably because few scholars had penetrated to the remote region of their habitat. The first scientific monograph upon the subject was read before the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, in 1908, by M. Cordier. In 1913, another scholar, M. J. Bacot, after a residence of several months in the Mo-so country, published, under the auspices of the Institut ethnographique international de Paris, an interesting study of the ethnography, religion, language, and writing of the people, in which he was assisted by M. E. Chavannes, who was responsible for a translation and study of the texts, dealing with the genealogy of the kings of Mo-so, which M. Bacot obtained from their direct descendant.

The Mo-so spoken language differs from the written language. The latter consists of pictographic, ideographic, and syllabic characters.

Many of the ideographic characters, M. Bacot tells us, are very obscure. It is for that reason we attach considerable importance to an excellent key to one of the manuscripts, which Mr. Forrest was fortunately able to obtain, through the services of a Chinese scholar, who was familiar with the people and their language.

The manuscript referred to was first transcribed and then furnished with an interlinear translation in Chinese characters. A further transcript of both the Mo-so and the Chinese was afterwards made, to which was added an English translation of the Chinese version, thus providing us with a key which may prove to be of great service when the other manuscripts in the collection come to be dealt with.

The text of the translated manuscript is of a religious character, opening with a version of the creation story, and as far as we are able at present to judge, most of the others are of a similar type.

The religious practices of this people seem to follow the cults of the particular regions where they are settled, and include natural religion, lamaism, magic, and ancestral worship. The practice of so many cults, differing so greatly in character, seems to indicate a certain indifference to religion, which may account for the failure of the Christian missionaries, who, for sixty years or more, apparently have been active among this people, but hitherto without making a single convert.

The religion proper of the Mo-so, however, is the Cult of Heaven, which embraces a Supreme Being endowed with infinite attributes, providence, and justice. They have their holy city at Bedjri, a shrine to which every priest or sorcerer is expected to make at least one pilgrimage during his lifetime. Their temples, if they may be so described, are enclosed spaces, or clearings in the forest, of which the only roof is the canopy of heaven. These enclosures are entered once a year, when sacrifices are offered upon the stone altar which is erected in the centre.

In due course we hope to arrange for the publication of the texts contained in these manuscripts, and it is not unlikely that they will furnish new evidence as to the religious rites and ceremonies to which we have incidentally referred.

In the meantime Mr. Forrest has kindly undertaken to prepare an illustrated article for an early issue of the BULLETIN, in which he will give some account of the Mo-so people, from his personal and, therefore, first-hand knowledge.

The first volume of the new and standard edition of "The Odes and Psalms of Solomon," published by the Manchester University Press, for the Governors of the Library, has just made its appearance. It furnishes for the first time a facsimile in collotype, of the exact dimensions of the original Syriac

FACSIMILE
OF "THE
ODES OF
SOLOMON".

manuscript now in the possession of the library ; which is accompanied by a retranscribed text, with an attached critical apparatus.

In working through the text of the "Odes," the editors, Dr. Rendel Harris and Dr. A. Mingana, became convinced that they were dealing with matter that was either purely Oriental in origin, or so coloured by Oriental modes of thought and expression as to be substantially Oriental, and they decided that it was necessary to reconstruct, as far as possible, the rhythms which underlay the recovered Syriac text, and which showed remarkable parallelism with early Syriac poetry. The text has accordingly been broken up ; and this made it necessary to re-distribute and renumber the verses as they were given in Dr. Harris's "editio princeps".

In their preface, the editors point out that this text will enable students to acquire first-hand knowledge of the forms in which the "Odes" have come down to us, as well as occasionally to register a possible or probable emendation.

In the second volume, which we hope to publish in the early part of the new year, it is proposed to re-translate the "Odes" into English versicles, with brief comments by way of elucidation. The translation will be accompanied by an exhaustive introduction, dealing with the variations of the fragment in the British Museum, with the original language, the probable epoch of their composition, their unity, the stylistic method of their first writer, the accessory patristic testimonies, a summary of the most important criticisms that have appeared since its first publication in 1909, a complete bibliography of the subject, and a glossary to the text.

Those readers who may be unfamiliar with the character and importance of the document, which is now being made accessible to students, are referred to Dr. Rendel Harris's brief statement of its value, which appeared in the October, 1914, issue of this BULLETIN.

The price at which each of the volumes will be issued is half a guinea net. The first volume is on sale, and may be procured from the usual publishers or their agents.

We welcome the appearance of the first annual issue of the "Athenæum Subject Index to Periodicals," covering the year 1915 ; and we offer our heartiest congratulations to all who have been concerned in its production.

THE NEW
SUBJECT
INDEX TO
PERIODI-
CALS.

The publication of this valuable aid to scholarship has been made

possible through the co-operation of the proprietors of "The Athenæum" with the Library Association and a number of voluntary workers. In justice, however, to the editors, Mr. E. Wyndham Hulme, Librarian of the Patent Office Library, and his colleague, Mr. Hopwood, it should also be pointed out that it is due entirely to their indomitable perseverance, coupled with unwearied and self-sacrificing labour in the face of serious discouragements, that the work has been carried to so successful an issue.

The volume consists of a consolidation, in one alphabet, of the series of monthly class lists, published as supplements to "The Athenæum," with the addition of upwards of 2000 entries. The result may be stated as follows: 420 periodicals have been indexed, yielding 13,374 articles classified under 7054 headings and accompanied by 7280 author references.

This is not the first attempt which has been made in this country to recover and make accessible to students some of the thousands of important contributions to literature which in the past have been buried and neglected for want of proper cataloguing or indexing, simply because, by an accident of birth, they appear in the heart of a volume of the transactions of some learned society, or other periodical publication.

In 1890 Mr. Stead, in connection with his "Review of Reviews," published an "Annual Index to Important Periodicals of the English Speaking World," which was continued for thirteen years (until 1902), after which it ceased to appear, killed by apathy and lack of support on the part of those in whose interest it had been undertaken.

For the honour of the country and its librarianship, it is to be hoped that a better fate is in store for the new index than that which befell, not only the one published by Mr. Stead, but the American "Poole's Index to Periodical Literature," which after a useful career, extending from 1848 to 1907, also ceased to appear in the latter year.

In order to appreciate the value and importance of this literary tool it needs only to be recognized that every item recovered by this means from the buried material, to which we have already referred, adds to the available resources of the library, and often is of greater value than the purchase of many new volumes. We go so far as to say that the smaller the library the greater the need to have its resources expanded in this way. Even when the library possesses few or none of the

periodicals dealt with in the Index, it surely is worth while to be able to refer a reader to an article likely to furnish information upon the subject of his quest, which may be consulted in some neighbouring library, or which may be borrowed from the "Loan Library," which has been established in connection with the Index.

We learn that the number of periodicals dealt with in the present issue is to be augmented in succeeding issues, provided that adequate support is forthcoming.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that every library and every learned society throughout the country will feel it to be, not only to their advantage to subscribe for the Index, but also a duty to assist those who have undertaken the responsibility of this work purely in the interest of scholarship, and by so doing, relieve them from any financial anxiety.

The present issue of the Bulletin, which is a double number, will be found to contain a classified list of the most important of the recent accessions to the library, in the departments of Literature and History. A combined author index to the lists appearing in the current volume will be published in the following issue.

LIST OF
RECENT AC-
CESSIONS.

The next issue may be looked for early in the new year and will include an article by Professor C. H. Herford, entitled "National and International Ideals in the English Poets," being the substance of a lecture delivered in the library, in January last ; and the fourth of Dr. Rendel Harris's articles on Greek Mythology, dealing with "The Cult of Aphrodite," in addition to the usual list of accessions, and other regular features.

OUR NEXT
ISSUE.



From Sibthorp's "Flora Graeca".

- a.* INVOLUCRUM. *B.* UNUM E FOLIOLIS INVOLUCRI, MAGNITUDINE AUCTUM.
C. FLOSCULUS, VALDÈ AUCTUS. *b.* UNUM E FOLIOLIS INVOLUCRI.
c. FLOSCULUS.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CULT OF ARTEMIS.¹

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., LITT.D., LL.D., D.THEOL., ETC.,
HON. FELLOW OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

THE attempt which we have made to disentangle the strands which make up the complexity of the Cult of Apollo, and to determine the starting-point for the evolution of that cult, leads on naturally and necessarily to the inquiry as to the meaning of the cult of the twin-sister of Apollo, the Maiden-Huntress of Greek woods and mountains. It might have been imagined that the resolution of one cult into its elements would lead quite inevitably to the interpretation of the companion cult, but this is far from being the case. The twins in question are quite unlike the Dioscuri, Castor and Polydeuces, whose likeness is so pronounced and whose actions are generally so similar that Lucian in his "Dialogues of the Gods" sets Apollo inquiring of Hermes which of the two is Castor and which is Polydeuces, "for," says he, "I never can make out." And Hermes has to explain that it was Castor yesterday and Polydeuces to-day, and that one ought to recognise Polydeuces by the marks of his fight with the king of the Bebryces.

Artemis, on the other hand, rarely behaves in a twin-like manner to Apollo: he does not go hunting with her, and she does not, apparently, practise divination with him; indeed, as we begin to make inquiry as to Apollo and Artemis in the Pre-Homeric days, we find that allusions to the twin-birth disappear, and a suspicion arises that the twin relation is a mythological afterthought, rendered necessary by the fact that the brother and sister had succeeded, for some reason or other, to a joint inheritance of a sanctuary belonging to some other pair of twin-heroes, heroines, or demi-deities; and if this should turn out to be the case, we must not take the twin-relationship and parentage from Zeus and Leto as the starting-point in the inquiry: it may be that other circumstances have produced the supposed family relation, and that Leto, who is in philological

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 14 March, 1916.

value only a duplicate of Leda, may turn out to be a very palpable fiction. In that case we shall have to explore the underlying parallelism in the cults of the two deities, outside of the twin relation and anterior to it. The relation of the cults to one another must be sought in another direction. Now let us refresh our memory as to the method which we pursued, and the results which we obtained in the case of the Cults of Dionysos and Apollo. It will be remembered that we started from the sanctity of the oak as the animistic repository of the thunder, and in that sense the dwelling-place of Zeus; it was assumed that the oak was taboo and all that belonged to it; that the woodpecker who nested in it or hammered at its bark was none other than Zeus himself, and it may turn out that Athena, who sprang from the head of the thunder-oak, was the owl that lived in one of its hollows: even the bees who lived underneath its bark were almost divine animals, and had duties to perform to Zeus himself. The question having been raised as to the sanctity of the creepers upon the oak, it was easy to show that the ivy (with the smilax and the vine) was a sacred plant, and that it was the original cult-symbol of Dionysos, who thus appeared as a lesser Zeus projected from the ivy, just as Zeus himself, in one point of view, was a projection from the oak. Dionysos, whose thunder-birth could be established by the well-known Greek tradition concerning Semele and Zeus, was the ivy on the oak, and after that became an ivy fire-stick in the ritual for the making of fire. From Dionysos to Apollo was the next step: it was suggested, in the first instance, by the remarkable confraternity of the two gods in question. They were shown to exchange titles, to share sanctuaries, and to have remarkable cult-parallelisms, such as the chewing of the sacred laurel by the Pythian priestess, and the chewing of the sacred ivy by the Mænads: and since it was discovered that the Delphic laurel was a surrogate for a previously existing oak, it was natural to inquire whether in any way Apollo, as well as Dionysos, was linked to the life of Zeus through the life of the oak. The inquiry was very fruitful in results: the undoubted solar elements in the Apolline cult were shown to be capable of explanation by an identification of Apollo with the mistletoe, and it was found that Apollo was actually worshipped at one centre in Rhodes as the Mistletoe Apollo, just as Dionysos was worshipped as the Ivy Dionysos at Acharnai. Further

inquiry led to the conclusion that the sanctity of the oak had been transferred by the mistletoe from the oak to the apple-tree, and that the cult betrayed a close connection between the god and the apple-tree, as, for instance, in the bestowal of sacred apples from the god's own garden upon the winners at the Pythian games. In this way it came to be seen that Apollo was really the mistletoe upon the apple-tree, for the greater part of the development of the cult, just as Dionysos was the Ivy, not detached as some had imagined, but actually upon the oak-tree. It was next discovered that the garden at Delphi was a reproduction of another Apolline garden in the far North, among the Hyperboreans, the garden to which Boreas had carried off Orithyia, and to which (or to another adjacent garden) at a later date the sons of Asklepios were transferred for the purpose of medical training. Some said it was a garden at the back of the North Wind, and some said it was in the far-away Islands of the Blessed; it was, however, clear that the garden in question was not an orchard, but that it had plants as well as trees, and that the plants were medicinal, and so the garden had no relation to the flower gardens of later times. If a flower grew there, say the peony, it grew there as a part of the primitive herbal. Apollo came from the North as a medicine man, a herbalist, and brought his simples with him. His character of a god of healing was due in the first instance to the fact that the mistletoe, which he represented, was the All-heal¹ of antiquity, as it was to the Druids whom Pliny describes, and as it is among the Ainu of Japan at the present day. His apothecary's shop contained mistletoe, peony, laurel, and perhaps a few more universal or almost universal remedies, and upon these he made his reputation. He must have been a Panakes in his first period of medical practice, but the title passed over to a young lady in the family, who was known as Panakeia, who has furnished the dictionary with the medical word Panacea. Apollo continued to be known as the Paian or Pæonian; and connection was made in Homer's day with the Pæonians on the Danube, in the Serbian

¹ The belief in All-healing medicines appears to be innate and persistent in human nature. John Bunyan represents Mr. Skill in the "Pilgrim's Progress" as operating with "an universal Pill, good against all the Diseases that Pilgrims are incident to".

area, who appear to have been the progressive herbalists of the day, and to have kept the first medical school to which the Greeks resorted. Moreover, since primitive medicine was magic, as well as medicine, the garden of Apollo contained ἀλεξιφάρμακα, or herbs which protected from witchcraft and evil spirits, of which the mistletoe appears to have been the chief. An attempt was then made to show that the very name of Apollo was, in its early form, Apellon, a loan-word from the North, disguising in the thinnest way his connection with the apple-tree. The apple had come into Greece from the North, perhaps from Teutonic peoples, just as it appears to have come into Western Italy from either Teutons or Celts, giving its name in the one case to the great god of healing, and in the other to the city of Abella, in Campania, through the Celtic word *Aball*.

The importance of the foregoing investigations will be evident : and they furnish for us the starting-point of our investigations of Artemis. We cannot get further back in the Cult of Apollo than the medical garden, behind which lies the apple-tree, the mistletoe, the oak-tree, and the sky-god. It seems probable that it is on the medical side that we shall find the reason for the brotherly-sisterly relation of Apollo and Artemis, for, as we shall show, she has a medical training and a garden of her own, which analogy suggests to have been a medical garden.

Before proceeding to the inquiry as to the character of the relationship between Apollo and Artemis, and the consequent interpretation of the latter in terms borrowed from the former, we will indulge in some further speculation on the Apollo and the apple that came into Greece from the back of the North Wind.

We have already expressed the belief that the apple reached the West of Italy from a Celtic or Teutonic source, and that the ancient city of Abella was an apple-town, named after the fruit, and not the converse. There is nothing out of the way in naming a town or a settlement from the apple-tree. There are a number of apple-towns, for instance, in England, such as Appleby, Appledore, Appledram, Appledurcombe : and although in some cases there has been a linguistic perversion from some earlier name, in which case the apple disappears from the etymology, there are enough cases left by which to establish our statement : the name Appledore, for example, can only mean apple-tree. Look at the following place-names from

Middendorff's "Alt-Englisches Flurnamenbuch" and see how places are identified by sweet apple-trees and sour apple-trees :—

apuldre, *apelder*, etc., sw. f. Apfelbaum; of dâ sûran apael-dran 158; on sûran apuldran 610; swête apuldre 1030; wôhgar apeldran 356; hâran apeldran 356; mâer apelder 356; pytt apulder 610; apeltrêo 219; appeldore 279A; *apeldorestoc* 458; appel-thorn 922 (daselbst als lignum pomiferum bezeichnet) O.N. (i.e. place-name). Appeldram, Sussex, gleich appuldre ham; Appuldur Combe auf Wight.

The foregoing references to the Anglo-Saxon Cartulary will show how impossible it is to rule the apple and the apple-tree out of the national landmarks: the form, for instance, which we have underlined, is conclusive for the "stump of an apple-tree" as a place-mark, and for *appeldore* as being really an apple-tree, and the equivalent of a number of related forms: when, moreover, we look into the Middle High Dutch, we find to our surprise that, instead of a form related to the German *Apfelbaum*, there occur the following terms, *apfalter*, *affalter*, *affolter*, which show the tree-ending nearly in the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian form.

The first result of these observations is the confirmation of the use of the apple-tree as a place-mark; and what is proved for England is possible for Italy. There is really nothing to prevent the derivation of Abella from *Abâl*, and it is quite unnecessary to derive "apple" from Abella and so leave Abella itself unexplained. That is to say, the apple is a northern fruit and has come from the North to the Mediterranean on two routes: we may call them for convenience the *b* route and the *p* route, according as the import comes from the Celtic or Teutonic side: more correctly the import is due to tribes in two different states of the sound-shifting which goes on in the northern languages.

The fact is, that as soon as we have recognised in our own country the existence of towns and villages named after the apple and the apple-tree, we are bound to examine for similar phenomena elsewhere. We cannot, for instance, ignore the meaning of Avallon in the Department of the Yonne, when we have found the Celtic form for apple, and interpreted the happy valley of Avilion: and if Avallon is an apple-town, it did not derive its name from Abella in Campania.

There is, moreover, another direction of observation which leads to a complete demonstration of the dependence of Abella on the apple. No one seems to have noticed that in the South-west of France, in the region that borders on the Pyrenees, there was an ancient cult of an apple-god, exactly similar, judging from the name of the deity, to the Cult of Apollo. Holder in his "Altkeltischer Wortschatz" describes him as a Pyrenæan local god in the upper valley of the Garonne. For instance, we have at Aulon in the *Vallée de la Noue* an inscription

DEO ABELLIONI

Here Aulon is evidently a worn-down form of Avalon, so that we actually discover the apple-god in the apple-town.¹ In the same way we register the inscriptions

<i>Aulon</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Abellioni deo.
<i>S. Béat. (Basses Pyrénées)</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Abelioni deo.
"	"	"	"	.	.	Abelioni deo.
<i>Vallée de Larboust</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Abelioni deo.
"	"	.	.	.	.	Abellionni.
<i>St. Bertrand de Comminges</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Abellioni deo.
"	"	"	.	.	.	Abelion(i) deo.
<i>Fabas, Haute Garonne</i> ²	.	.	.	.	.	Abellionni.

This list can be expanded and corrected from Julian Sacaze's *Inscriptions Antiques des Pyrénées*, but for the present the references given above may suffice.

Here, then, are nine cases of a god, named *abelion* and *abellion*. The parallel with the early Greek spellings of Apollo, *Apellon*, *Apeljon* is obvious, and we need have no hesitation in saying that we have found the Celtic Apollo in the Pyrenees. (The identification with Apollo, but not with the apple, had already been made by Gruter, following Scaliger, *Lectiones Ausonianæ*, lib. i. c. 9.) The curious thing is that Holder, while discussing the origin of the name Abella, and landing in a final suspense of judgment as to the question which came first, the apple or the Abella, had on the very same page registered the existence of the Western apple-god. (Holder is, no

¹ "Revue Archéologique," 16, 488.

² "Bull. Soc. Ant. Fr." 1882, 250.

doubt, descended from the blind god Holdur of the Norsemen !) There is evidently not the slightest reason for supposing that Abella can be the starting-point for all these names of towns and deities : Abella is an apple-town for certain, and a Celtic apple-town. We may evidently carry our inquiries after apple-centres a little further : if the apple came from the North into the region of the Pyrenees, and into Campania, it will be strange indeed if it does not find its way across the mountains into Spain. We shall actually find a province and a city named *Avila* (it is Teresa's birthplace) and no doubt was a centre of early apple-culture.¹

¹ In the supplement to Holder there is a good deal more about the apple and the apple-town.

Äball-ō(n) is definitely equated with apple-town.

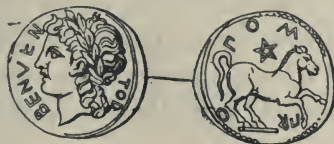
Other towns are recognised ; L'avalais in the diocese of Autun ; Avallon in the Charente Inférieure, and again in the Dept. Isère.

Then we are told that the modern Avalleur in the Dept. of the Aube is = Avalorra, Avalurre, Avaluria of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and goes back to a primitive Aballo-duro-s or apple-fort : and that the modern place-names Valuéjols in Cantal, Valeuil in Dordogne, and again in the Dept. of the Eure, go back to a primitive Äballöiälö-n, which Holder says means apple-garden.

Holder also traces Vaillac, in the Dept. Lot, and Vaillat in the Charente, to an original Avalli-äcus and so to Ävallos ; and also the place-names Havelu (Eure-et-Loire), Haveluy (Nord) and Aveluy (Somme) to an original Avallövicus.

Who can believe that Abella in Campania is responsible for all this wealth of nomenclature ?

It is interesting to notice that not very far from Abella there is another apple-town, this time due to a Greek Colony. It has been pointed out that the name of Beneventum is a change from the evil-omened Maleventum, and that this latter is formed from the Greek *ΜάλοΦέντα*. "The Romans generally formed the name of a Greek town from the Greek accusative" (Giles, "Short Manual of Comp. Philol.," § 273, n. 2).



This leads us at once to the inquiry whether Apollo Maloeis is the local deity of Beneventum : the quickest way to decide this is to examine the coins of the city. Coins of Beneventum are rare ; a reference to the British Museum "Catalogue of Greek Coins in Italy" (p. 68, fig. ; see also Rasche, "Lex. univ. rei. numm." Suppl. i. 1355) will show us the *head of Apollo*

Another very interesting direction of inquiry is Northern Syria. The student of the New Testament knows the district of Abilene, over which Lysanias is said to have been the tetrarch. One rides through this district on the way from Baalbek to Damascus. Its capital city was Abila, over whose exact identification there is, I believe, still some dispute. There is no dispute, however, about its power of producing apples, as I know by experience: the village of Zebedany, for instance, is famed all over the Lebanon for its excellent apples, one of which was presented to my companion when we sojourned there for a night, by an old lady who took it as a token of extremest friendship, from her own bosom. The climate of the Lebanon appears to suit the apple, which was in all probability imported from the Levant. There is another Abila town on the east side of the Lake of Galilee. Whether that also is an apple-town I am not prepared to say.

Now for some remarks with regard to the first form of the word: we accentuate *apple* on the first syllable, but it is clear that the Celts accentuated it on the last (*abhál*, for instance, in Irish) and this appears from another consideration to be primitive; the double *n* at the end of the word and in the name of the god requires a forward accent. It is curious that, as with ourselves, the accent in Lithuanian has shifted back to the first syllable.

This shift of the accent is not, however, universal. When we search more closely for apple-towns on English soil, we find traces of the forward accentuation. For if we follow the analogy of places named after the oak, Oakham, Acton, and the like, we find not only such place and personal names as *Appleton* (of which there are nine or ten in "Bartholomew's Gazetteer") but also the forms both in names of persons and names of places, *Pelham*, *Pelton*, which are most naturally explained as derived from *Appelham*, *Appelton*. (Three Pelhams in Herts, a Pelton in Durham, not far from Chester-le-street.) To these we may add what appears to be an English formation from Pembrokeshire; for *Pelcomb* appears to be parallel in structure and meaning to *Appeldurcombe* in the Isle of Wight.¹

on the coins of Beneventum. It is not a little curious that we have found the Greek apple-town and the Celtic apple-town in Central Italy, within a day's march of one another!

¹ The alternative derivation will be a personal name of the type of John Peel. See Skeat, "Place-names of Hertfordshire."

The whole question of apple names needs a close and careful investigation.

There is another question connected with this one of the apple origin that needs inquiring into. Every one knows the Norse story of Balder the Beautiful, and of his death at the hand of the blind god Holdur, who, at Loki's malicious suggestion, shot him with an arrow of mistletoe. No one has been able to explain the myth of the death of Balder, but there have been various parallels drawn between the beautiful demi-god of the North and the equally beautiful Apollo among the Olympians : etymology has also been called in to explain Balder in terms of brightness and whiteness, and so to make him more or less a solar personage : but nothing very satisfactory has yet been arrived at. The Balder myth stands among the unsolved riddles of antiquity, complicated by various contradictory story-tellings, and apparently resisting a final explanation. Grimm was of the opinion that there was a Germanic Balder named Paltar, who corresponded to the Norse Balder, thus throwing the myth back into very early times indeed ; and he brought forward a number of considerations in support of his theory, of greater or less validity.

It has occurred to me that, perhaps, the Apel-dur, Apel-dre, and Appeldore, which we have been considering, may be the origin of Balder, and of the Paltar of Grimm's hypothesis, in view of the occurrence of the corresponding forms mentioned above in the Middle High Dutch. If, for instance, the original accent in *apple* (abál) is, as stated above, on the second syllable, then it would be easy for a primitive apál-dur to lose its initial vowel, and in that case we should not be very far from the form Balder, which would mean the apple-tree originally and nothing more. That the personified apple-tree should be killed by an arrow of mistletoe is quite in the manner of ancient myth-making ;¹ and the parallels which have sometimes been

¹ Or we may adopt a simpler explanation, viz. that the ancients had observed that the mistletoe does kill the tree on which it grows, a bit of popular mythology which has recrudesced in Mr. Kipling's *Pict Song* :—

Mistletoe killing an oak—
Rats gnawing cables in two—

The damage done by mistletoe to conifers in the N.W. of America is the subject of a paper by James R. Weir, Forest Pathologist to the United States.

suggested between Balder and Apollo would be not parallels but identities. Apollo would be Balder and Balder Apollo.

Leaving these speculations for the present on one side, we now come to the question of the relation between Artemis and Apollo, that which the later myth-makers expressed in the language of twin-cult. Was there any common ground of cult similar to that which we detected in the case of Dionysos and Apollo, where the coincidence in titles, in functions, in cult-usages and in sanctuaries, led us to the interpretation of the second god, like the first, in terms of a vegetable origin? It will be admitted that there is some similarity in titles, that Apollo is Phœbus and Artemis Phoebe, and that he is Hekatos, or implied as such in the titles given to him, and that Artemis is, if not exactly Hekaté, at all events very closely related to her. This does not, however, help us very much; it suggests sun and moon-cult for Artemis and Apollo, and it is admitted that the mistletoe introduced a solar element into the conception of Apollo: but the actual development of the solar and lunar elements, which made Apollo almost the counterpart of Helios, and Artemis of Selene, must be much later in date than the origins of which we are in search. We must, therefore, go in other directions if we are to find a cult-parallelism between the two deities. And the direction which promises real results is the following: it is quite clear that both Apollo and Artemis are witches, witch-doctors of the primitive type, who stand near the very starting-point of what becomes ultimately the medical profession. He is a personified *All-heal*, and to his primitive apparatus of mistletoe berries, bark and leaves, he has added a small number of simples, more or less all-heals, or patent medicines, which taken together constitute the garden of Apollo, the original apothecary's shop. It is quite possible that the very first medicine of the human race was the mistletoe, and it is surprising to note how tenaciously the human race has clung to its first all-heal. In this country, for example, we are told by Lysons that there was a great wood in the neighbourhood of Croyland (Norwood) which belonged to the archbishop, and was said to consist wholly of oak. Among the trees was one which bore mistletoe, which some persons were so hardy as to cut down, for the *gain of selling it to the Apothecaries*, in London, leaving a branch of it to sprout out; but they proved unfortunate after it, for one of

them fell lame, and others lost an eye.¹ It will be seen that the medical and magical value of mistletoe (and especially of oak-mistletoe, as the old herbals are careful to point out) has continued almost to our own time. If Apollo is a herbalist, as all the primitive leeches were, and had a medical garden, it seems quite clear that Artemis was also in the herbal profession, and that she also had a garden of her own, in which certain plants grew, whose power of healing and persistence in human use have continued down to our own times. This we must now proceed to prove, for if we establish this parallelism, we shall know why Apollo and Artemis are brother and sister, and we shall presently be able to track the latter as we did the former, to her vegetable origin.

The first thing to be done is to prove that they both belong to the medical profession : the next to examine the pharmacopœia of each one of them. In fact we have done this pretty thoroughly for Apollo : where is the proof that Artemis graduated in medicine, and what were the means of healing that she employed ?

The first direction of inquiry suggested by the Apollo Cult for the Artemis Cult is to ask whether there is any magic herb (magical being understood as a term parallel with medical, and almost coincident with it in meaning) which will rank, either for medicine or for magic, along with the well-known *All-heal* of Apollo, the mistletoe. Suppose we turn to a modern book on "Flowers and Flower-Lore"² we shall find the author discoursing of the virtues of St. John's wort as "a safeguard against witchcraft, tempest, and other demoniacal evils". In fact, the plant is an *All-heal*: in Devonshire, the wild variety of the plant is known as tutsan, or titsan, which is the French *tout-sain*. We used to gather the leaves when we were children and place them in our Bibles. Its medical value can be seen from its occurrence in old-time recipes. For instance, here is one which begins thus :—

"Take . . . french mallows, the tops of tutsans, plantin leaves, etc."³ Or look in Parkinson's "Herbal," and you will find a section devoted to *Tutsan*, and another to St. John's wort, which is

¹ Quoted in Friend, "Flowers and Flower-Lore," i. 305.

² Friend, "Flowers and Flower-Lore," i. 74, 75.

³ Lewer, "A Book of Simples," p. 186.

identified with the *Hypericon* of Dioscorides, and accredited with all kinds of virtues. So we are in the old Greek medical garden with St. John's wort.

The writer referred to above goes on to speak of the magical value of the mistletoe which "might well share with St. John's wort the name of Devil-fuge". "*Another plant possessed, according to popular belief, of the power of dispelling demons is the well-known mugwort or wormwood*, which on account of its association with the ceremonials of St. John's Eve (Midsummer Eve) was also known on the Continent as St. John's Herb . . . or St. John's Girdle. Garlands were made at that season of the year composed of white lilies, birch, fennel, St. John's wort, and *Artemisia* or wormwood, different kinds of leaves, and the claws of birds. These garlands, thus comprising seven different kinds of material, were supposed to be possessed of immense power over evil spirits."

The writer, unfortunately, does not give the detailed authority for his statements; but as regards the magic powers of the mugwort or *Artemisia*, we shall be able abundantly to verify the statements. Every herbal will say something about it: and we have, therefore, reached the point of discovering that there was a plant of immense magical and medical value, named after Artemis herself, and which must, therefore, be accredited to her garden, in the same way as we credited the mistletoe and the peony to the garden of Apollo. We note in passing that the plant *Hypericon* (St. John's wort) has also to be reckoned with as a part of the ancient pharmacopœia, and that a place ought to be found for it somewhere. As to the magic garlands that are spoken of, it is quite likely that they also will turn out to be ancient; in which case observe that even when composed of flowers, they are not flower-garlands in our sense of the term, but prophylactics. The distinction may be of importance—for instance, in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, we find the hero of the play making a garland for his goddess. Here is the language in which he dedicates it, in Mr. A. S. Way's translation:—

For thee this woven garland from a mead
 Unsullied have I twined, O Queen, and bring.
 There never shepherd dares to feed his flocks,
 Nor steel of sickle came: only the bee
 Roveth the springtide mead undesecrate:

And Reverence watereth it with river-dews.
 They which have heritage of self-control
 In all things, purity inborn, untaught,
 These there may gather flowers, but none impure.

Evidently the mead of which Hippolytus speaks was "a sealed garden" belonging to initiates: the shepherd would not dare to come in: no iron is allowed within its limits: ¹ iron and magic are enemies; may we not assume that the garden in question is the garden of Artemis herself? One wishes much that Euripides had told us what were the plants and flowers that went to make up the garland, and whether one of them was the Artemisia.

If we have not a detailed description in this case, we are better placed in the companion garden of Hekaté, if that be really different from the garden of Artemis, at this period of religious evolution; for we have already pointed out the close connection of Apollo, Artemis, and Hekaté. As regards the medical garden of Hekaté, we are, as I have said, better placed for an exact determination. The Orphic "Argonautica" describe the visit of Medea to the garden in question, and tell us what sort of a place it was: here are some of the lines:—

ἐν δέ σφιν πυμάτῳ μυχῶ ἔρκεος ἄλσος ἀμείβει,
 δένδρεσιν εὐθαλέεσσι κατάσκιον, ᾧ ἐνὶ πολλάί
 δάφναι τ' ἡδὲ κρανειαὶ ἰδ' εὐμήκεις πλατάνιστοι.
 ἐν δὲ πόαι ῥίξῃσι κατηρεφές χθαμαλῆσιν,
 ἀσφόδελος, κλύμενός τε, καὶ εὐώδης ἀδιάντος,
 καὶ θρύον ἡδὲ κύπειρον, ἀριστερεῶν τε ἀνεμώνη,
 ὄρμινόν τε, καὶ εἰρύσιμον, κυκλαμὶς τ' ἰοειδής,
 μανδραγόρης, πόλιόν τ', ἐπὶ δὲ ψαφαρὸν δίκταμνον,
 εὐοδμός τε κρόκος, καὶ κάρδαμον· ἐν δ' ἄρα κῆμος,
 σμίλαξ, ἡδὲ χαμαίμηλον, μήκων τε μέλαινα,
 ἀλκείη, πάνακες, καὶ κάρπασον, ἡδ' ἀκόνιτον,
 ἄλλα τε δηλήεντα κατὰ χθόνα πολλὰ πεφύκει.²

Here then, the writer of the poem has pictured for us the witch's garden as it should be: there are trees, such as the laurel, the cornel, and the plane: there is asphodel, convolvulus (?), the maiden-hair, the rush, the cyperus, the vervain (?), the anemone, the horminus, the erysimon, the cyclamen, the stoechas, the peony, the polyknemos, the

¹ Cf. the practice of the Druids in cutting the mistletoe or in gathering (sine ferro) the plant *selago*, as described by Pliny, "H.N.," XXIV. 62.

² Orph., "Argonaut.," 915 ff.

mandrake, the polion, the dictamnys, the crocus, the cardamon, the kēmos, the smilax, the camomile, the black poppy, the alcaea, the mistletoe (?), the flax, the aconite, *and other baneful plants*.

No doubt this as a Greek medical garden of a late period, but it shows what a garden of Hekaté was imagined to be by the author ; and it is instructive. It is composed of *roots* and *banes*, and of flowers whose medical value we can verify from other quarters. The mistletoe must surely be the *All-heal* covered by πάνακες;¹ it and the peony and the laurel come from Apollo's garden ; the smilax is borrowed from Dionysos, the vervain and mandrake are well-known in witchcraft : the dictamnys is related in some way to Artemis, for one of Artemis' names is taken from Dictynna (Dictamnus) in Crete, and the medicine is used for Artemis' own department, the delivery of women in child-birth, of which more presently.

We can thus form an idea of the herb-garden of antiquity : it was really more a root-garden than an herb-garden. When Sophocles describes the operation of Medea and her companions, apparently in these very gardens of Hekaté, he gives to the play the title of οἱ ῥιζοτόμοι, the *Root-cutters*. The root is either for medicine or for magic, and as we have said there was no sharp line drawn between the two. Supposing, then, that on the analogy of the gardens of Apollo and Hekaté, and in harmony with the language of Hippolytus to his goddess, we say that Artemis had a garden, we may be sure that the mugwort² was there. We must certainly look more carefully into the virtues of a plant so closely linked by name with the goddess.

Before doing so, we may mention in passing that both Hekaté and Artemis, who is so nearly related to her, used to grow in their gardens a famous magical plant which had the witch's power of opening locks. This flower is called the *spring-wurzel* (or *spring-wort*), in the literature of Teutonic peoples, and everywhere there are strange and wonderful stories about it. It appears to have been under the protection of the Thunder, in the person of the woodpecker. The plant was wanted by Medea in order to make the way

¹ This is not quite certain ; there are a number of all-heals beside the mistletoe.

² The English name *mugwort* is merely *fly-plant* ; cf. Engl. *midge*, Germ. *Mücke*.

for Jason to find the golden fleece, in one of the poems of the Argonaut legend. The person who had it could say

Open locks
Whoever knocks.

Now it seems certain that Artemis as well as Hekaté had this magic plant: for among her many titles corresponding to many functions and powers, she is called *κλειδοῦχος*, she that has the key. Thus in the opening Orphic Hymn to Hekaté, she is described as

παντὸς κόσμου κλειδοῦχον ἄνασσαν

and in the very next hymn, Prothyraea, the goddess of the portal, is addressed as *κλειδοῦχος* and as

Ἄρτεμις εἰλείθυια καὶ εὐσέμνη Προθυραία,

along with many epithets addressed to Artemis as the woman's helper in travail. We point out, therefore, in passing that the spring-wort, which gave the possessor the entrée everywhere, was also a plant in the garden of Artemis.

We are now able to see, from the combination of magic with medicine, and the difficulty of imagining them apart in early times, the reason for that curious feature in the character of Artemis and her brother, which makes them responsible for sending the very diseases which they are able to cure. It is magic that causes diseases, magic as medicine that heals them. If the god or goddess is angry, we may expect the former, if they are propitiated, we look for the latter. The myths will tell us tales of Apollo and Artemis under either head. If women in actual life have troubles, Macrobius¹ will tell us that they are Artemis-struck, *ἀρτεμιδοβλήτους*, which is not very different from witch-overlooked, as it occurs in the West of England: yet this very same Artemis will be appealed to when the time of feminine trouble is at hand!²

Our next step is to go to the herbals and find out what they say of the properties of the medical plants that we may be discussing, and

¹ "Sat.," l. 17, 11.

² That is always the way with witches; cf. Hueffer, "The Book of Witches," p. 280: "In the capacity of the witch as healer and conversely as disease-inflicter, her various spells must cover all the ills that flesh is heir to. She must be able to cure the disease she inflicts."

determine how far they reproduce the beliefs of primitive times. The task is not without interest ; one of the first things that come to light is the astonishing conservatism of the herbalists, who repeat statements one from another without correction or sensible modification, statements which can be traced back to Pliny or Dioscorides and even earlier, and which, when we have them in the form in which they are presented by Pliny or Dioscorides, are easily seen to be a traditional inheritance from still earlier times. Pliny, in fact, used the herbals of his day, much as Culpeper and Gerarde used Dodonaeus. Even when the herbalists are professing to be progressive, and throwing about their charges of superstition against those who preceded them, there is not much perceptible progress about them. Gerarde is often found using the language of the rationalist, and is doing his best to let the light of accurate science fall on his page, but Gerarde himself relates to us how he himself saw, with "the sensible and true avouch of his own eyes," that brant-geese were produced from the shells of barnacles, and gives us a picture of the actual occurrence of this feat of evolution ; it was a story which, if I remember rightly, Huxley employed in his discussion of the evidence for miracles. Culpeper, too, denounces superstition roundly and cries to God against it ; but he denounces also the Royal College of Surgeons and colours all his medical theories with the doctrine of signatures and the influence of the planets. No medicine for him without astrology, which he treats with the same assurance as a modern doctor would have as to the influence of microbes. In reality, we ought to be thankful for the limitations which we at once detect in the herb-doctors ; their traditionalism is just what we want ; it is the folk-lore of medicine, and like folk-lore generally our surest guide to the beliefs and practices of primitive man.

Let us then see what the herb-doctor Culpeper has to say on the subject of the mugwort : he begins with a description of the plant and then intimates the places where it may be found, as that "it groweth plentifully in many places of this Land, by the water-sides, as also by small water-courses, and in divers other places". The time of its flowering and seeding is then given. Then follows the "government and vertues" of the plant. The government means the planet that rules the plant and the sign of the Zodiac that it is under. Then we have the following vertues : "Mugwort is with good success put among other

herbs that are boiled for women to sit over the hot decoction, to draw down their courses, to help the delivery of their birth, and expel the after-birth. As also for the destructions and inflammations of the mother [*sc.* matrix]. It breaketh the stone and causeth one to make water where it is stopped. The Juyce thereof made up with myrrh, and put under as a pessary, worketh the same effects and so doth the root also."

He continues with the effect of the herb to remove tumours and wens, and to counteract over-dosing with opium, but it is evident that, according to Culpeper, it is a woman's medicine meant for women's complaints, even if it should have occasionally a wider reference. We begin to see the woman-doctor Artemis operating with the women's medicine Artemisia. But where did Culpeper get all this from? And how far back does this chapter of medical science go?

Here is another great English herbal, the "Theatrum Botanicum" of Parkinson. He arranges the matter very much as in Culpeper, but with more detail and learning. First he describes the plant *Artemisia vulgaris*, or common mugwort. Then he says where it is to be found, much as in Culpeper. After this he has to discourse on the meaning of the name, which I transcribe:—

"It is called in Greek Ἀρτεμίσια, and Artemisia in Latin also, and recorded by Pliny that it took the name of *Artemisia* from Artemisia the wife of *Mausolus*, King of Caria; when as formerly it was called *Parthenis*, quasi *Virginalis* Maidenwort, and as Apuleius saith, was also called *Parthenium*; but others think it took its name from Ἀρτεμῖς, who is called *Diana*, because it is chiefly applied to women's diseases. The first (kind of *Artemisia*) is generally called of all writers *Artemisia* and *vulgaris*, because it is the most common in all countries. Some call it *mater herbarum*. . . ." Here we have some really ancient tradition taken from Pliny, from Dioscorides, and others. The plant is traced to Artemis; its virtue consists in its applicability to the diseases of women and, most important of all, it is the mother of all medical herbs.

Parkinson then goes on to the virtues of the plant, beginning with the statement that "Dioscorides saith it heateth and extenuateth," after which we have very nearly the same story of its medical uses as in Culpeper. He continues, "It is said of Pliny that if a traveller binde

some of the hearbe with him, he shall feelee no weariness at all in his journey ; as also that no evill medicine or evill beast shall hurt him that hath the hearbe about him". Here we are in the region of pure magic and begin to suspect the reason why Artemis is the patron of the travellers, and why she is said to tame wild beasts. Parkinson remarks upon these opinions as follows :—

"Many such idle superstitions and irreligious relations are set down, both by the ancient and later writers, concerning this and other plants, which to relate were both unseemly for me, and unprofitable for you. I will only declare unto you the idle conceit of some of our later days concerning this plant, and that is even of Bauhinus¹ who glorieth to be an eye-witness of his foppery, that upon St. John's eve there are coales [which turn to gold] to be found at mid-day, under the rootes of mugwort, which after or before that time are very small or none at all, and are used as an amulet to hang about the necke of those that have the falling-sickness, to cure them thereof. But oh ! the weak and fraile nature of man ! which I cannot but lament, that is more prone to beleeeve and relye upon such impostures, than upon the ordinance of God in His creatures, and trust in His providence."

We could have done profitably with less of Parkinson's pious rationalism and more of the superstitions that he deplores and occasionally condescends to describe.

Now let us try the herbal of John Gerarde. This is earlier than Parkinson's "Theater" which dates from 1640. The first edition is published in 1597, the second, with enlargements and corrections by Johnson, is dated 1633. The copy in my possession is the latter, from which accordingly I quote.

First he describes the plant which he calls *Artemisia, mater Herbarum*, common mugwort, then says where it is to be found, and when ; then comes the dissertation on the name, nearly as above, which I transcribe :—

"Mugwort is called in Greek 'Αρτεμίσια ; and also in Latine *Artemisia*, which name it had of *Artemisia*, Queene of Halicarnassus, and wife of noble *Mausolus*, King of Caria, who adopted it for her own herbe ; before that it was called *Parthenis* as *Pliny*

¹ Bauhinus, "De Plantis a divis sanctisve nomen habentibus," 1591, and "Prodromus Theatri Botanici," 1620.

writeth. *Apuleius* affirmeth that it was likewise called *Parthenion*; who hath very many names for it, and many of them are placed in *Dioscorides* among the bastard names; most of these agree with the right *Artemisia*, and divers of them with other herbes, which now and then are numbered among the mugworts: it is also called *Mater Herbarum*; in high Dutch, *Beifuss*, and *Sant' Johannis Gurtell*; in Spanish and Italian, *Artemisia*; in Low Dutch, *Bijvoet*, *Sint Jans Kruyt*; in English Mugwort and common Mugwort." Then comes a note on the temperature of the plant:—

"Mugwort is hot and dry in the second degree, and somewhat astringent."

After this follow the virtues: beginning with "Pliny saith that Mugwort doth properly cure women's diseases" as we had noted above; details are given, nearly as in Parkinson, after which Gerarde concludes by saying that "Many other fantastical devices invented by poets are to be seene in the workes of the ancient writers, tending to witchcraft and sorcerie, and the great dishonour of God: wherefore I do of purpose omit them, as things unworthy of my recording or your reading," which is evidently what Parkinson has been drawing on. Bad luck to them both!

It must not be supposed that all these writers have verified for themselves what Pliny and *Dioscorides* or the rest say: they commonly transfer references from one to another. The value of the repeated statements lies in the evidence which the repetition furnishes of the constancy of the beliefs and practices involved.

Suppose we now try the herbals of a century earlier, those which belong to the period immediately following the invention of printing. I have examined several of these early book rarities in the Rylands Library in order to see whether they say the same as the great English herbals. Here, for instance, is the "*Hortus Sanitatis*,"¹ published in Mainz in 1491; the description of *Artemisia* and its virtues is as follows:—

Arthemisia. Ysido (i.e. Isidore) Arthemisia est herba dyane a gentibus consecrata unde et nuncupata. Diana siquidem grece artemis dicitur. Pli. li. xxv. (i.e. Pliny, bk. xxv.) Arthemisiam quae autem parthenis vocabatur ab arthemide cognominatam sicut

¹ This is merely a Latin translation of "Garden of Hygieia".

quidam putant. Etiam dicitur Artemisia quoniam sic vocabatur uxor regis masolei qui voluit eam sic vocari quae antea, ut inquit plinius, parthenis vocabatur. et sunt qui ab arthemide arthemisiam cognominatam putant. quoniam privatim medicatur feminarum malis. Dioscorides. Artemisia tria sunt genera. Unum est quod vocatur Artemisia monodos (l. monoclos), i.e. mater herbarum quae est fruticosa et similis absinthio : folia majora et pinguiora habens et hastas longas. nascitur in maritimis locis et lapidosis. florescit autem estatis tempore floribus albis. arthemisia tagetes (l. taygetes) nominatur. quae tenera est semen habens minutum et ynam hastam foliis plenam. Nascitur in locis mediterraneis et altioribus. florem mellinum atque tenuem et iocundiozem comparatione prioris ferens. Haec a grecis vocatur tagetes (i.e. taygetes) vel tanacetum. Et nos in lingua latina vocamus eam thanasiam. vel secundum quosdam athanasiam. Et est tertia arthemisia que leptafillos dicitur. nascitur circa fossas et agros. flosculum eius si contriveris samsuci odorem habet. et ipsa amara. Has species arthemisie dyanem dicunt invenisse et virtutes eorum et medicamina chironi centauro tradidisse. Haec herba ex nomine dyane quae artemis dicitur accepit nomen arthemisia quae calefacit et siccant. Ga. sim. fac. ca. d. arthemisia. (i.e. Galen in the chapter of *de simp. fac.* on artemisia). Artemisia duplex quidem est herba. ambae tamen calefaciunt mediocriter et siccant. . . .”

So much for the description of the plant as given in the “Hortus Sanitatis” : and we can already see that we are getting fresh information. The first kind of Artemisia is called *monoclos* which is apparently a corruption of a Greek word *μονόκλωνος*, meaning that the plant grows on a single stem ; the second is twice over described as *tagetes*, which can only refer to the mountain in Laconia (Mt. Taygetus) which is more than any other district sacred to Artemis. The writer does not, however, know any Greek : he says he is working from Dioscorides, but he appears to confuse the tansy (tanacetum) with the Artemisia, and says that its Latin name is Athanasia ! The reference to Mt. Taygetus is of the first importance, for if the plant is found there, then the presence of Artemis in the mountain is due to the plant, and Artemis is the plant. Last of all, the writer has a third variety which Diana is said to have discovered and confided to the centaur Chiron. We must evidently follow up these links of the plant with the goddess and see where they take us.

The writer then goes on to describe in detail the virtues of the plants, and it will be useful to follow him in detail.

Operations.

A. Dyas (i.e. Dioscorides) *Arthemisia* virtutem habet acerrimam purgativam attenuantem calidam et leptinticam.

B. Elixatura eius causas mulieris mitigat. menstruis imperat. secundinas excludit. mortuos infantes in utero deponit. constrictiones matricis resolvit. omnes tumores spargit. accepta calculos frangit. urinam provocat. herba ipsa tunsa et in umbilico posito menstruis imperat.

C. Succus eius mirre (i.e. myrrhae) mixtus et matrici suppositus omnia similiter facere novit.

D. Coma eius sicca bibita. z.iii. stericas (i.e. hystericas) causas componit.

E. Si quis iter faciens eam secum portaverit non sentiet itineris laborem.

F. Fugat etiam demonia in domo posita. Prohibet etiam maledicamenta et avertit oculos malorum.

G. Item ipsa tunsa cum axungia et superposita pedum dolorem ex itinere tollit.

H. *Arthemisia* quae *taygetes* vocatur facit ad vesicae dolorem et stranguriam succo dato ex vino. z.ii.

I. Febricanti ex aqua ea ciatis (l. cyathus) duas potui datur.

K. Succus tunsa cum axungia et aceto coxarum dolori medicatur ligata usque in tertium diem.

L. Ut infantem hilarem facias incende et suffumigabis et omnes incursiones malorum avertet. et hilariorem faciet infantem. nervorum dolorem et tumorem trita cum oleo bene subacta mirifice sanat.

M. Dolorem pedum gravitur vexatis radicem eius da cum melle manducare et ita sanabitur ut vix credi posset eam tantam virtutem habere.

N. Succo eius cum oleo rosarum febriens perunctus curatur ea. Hanc herbam si confricaveris lasaris odorem habet.

O. Galienus. Ambae species *arthemisiae* conveniunt lapidibus in renibus existentibus et ad calefactiones et extractiones secundarum (l. secundinarum).

When we read through this list of virtues and operations, we see

the origin of many things in the later herbals. It is quite clear that to the author of the *Hortus Sanitatis* the herb in question was women's medicine. We might roughly group the operations as follows :—

Women's medicine.	B.C.D.O.
Child's medicine.	L.
Pains in the feet.	E.G.M.
Vesicary troubles.	H.O.
Fevers.	I.N.
Pains in the hips.	K.
Magical values.	E.F.

It is clear that the real value of the herb lies in its influence upon women and children and upon travellers, and in the power as an amulet. The reason for its connection with travellers does not yet appear : the other curative and prophylactic qualities are thoroughly Artemisian. Especially interesting is the appearance of Artemis as the one that takes care of the baby, the *κουροτρόφος*. We are evidently coming nearer to the source of the magic and of the medicine.

Now let us see what Dioscorides says about the plant, since it is clear that the herbals in part derive from him ; the *Artemisia* is described in Dioscorides, "De materia medica," lib. III. cap. 117, 118.

117. Ἀρτεμισία ἡ μὲν πολύκλωνος, ἡ δὲ μονόκλωνος . . . ἡ μὲν πολύκλωνος φύεται ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐν παραθαλασσίοις τόποις, πόα θαμνοειδής, παρόμοιος ἀψινθίῳ, μείζων δὲ καὶ λιπαρώτερα τὰ φύλλα ἔχουσα· καὶ ἡ μὲν τις αὐτῆς ἐστὶν εὐερνής, πλατύτερα ἔχουσα τὰ φύλλα καὶ τοὺς ῥάβδους· ἡ δὲ λεπτότερα, ἄνθη μίκρα, λεπτά, λευκά, βαρύοσμα· θέρους δὲ ἀνθεῖ·

*Ενιοὶ δὲ τὸ ἐν μεσογείοις λεπτόκαρπον, ἀπλοῦν τῷ καυλῷ, σφόδρα μικρόν, ἄνθους περίπλεων κηροειδοῦς τῇ χροίᾳ· λεπτοῦ καλοῦσιν ἀρτεμισίαν μονόκλωνον· ἔστι δὲ εὐωδεστέρα τῆς πρὸ αὐτῆς.

Ἀμφότεραι δὲ θερμαίνουσι καὶ λεπτύνουσιν· ἀποζεννύμεναι δὲ ἀρμόζουσιν εἰς γυναικεῖα ἐγκαθίσματα πρὸς ἀγωγὴν ἐμμήνων καὶ δευτέρων καὶ ἐμβρύων, μύσιν τε καὶ φλεγμονὴν τῆς ὑστέρας καὶ θρύψιν λίθων καὶ ἐποχὴν οὖρων. ἡ δὲ πόα κατὰ τοῦ ἥτρου καταπλασθεῖσα πολλή, ἐμμηνα κινεῖ· ὁ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς χύλος λεανθεὶς σὺν σμύρνῃ, καὶ προστεθείς, ἄγει ἀπὸ μήτρας, ὅσα καὶ

τὸ ἐγκάθισμα· καὶ ποτίζεται ἡ κόμη πρὸς ἀγωγὴν τῶν αὐτῶν.
πλήθος < γ.

118. Ἀρτεμίασις λεπτόφυλλος ἥτις γεννᾶται περὶ ὀχέτους καὶ φραγμοὺς καὶ εἰς χώρας σπορίμους· τὸ ἄνθος οὖν αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ φύλλα τριβόμενα ὁσμὴν ἀποδίδωσι σαμψύχου. εἰ οὖν τις πονεῖ τὸν στόμαχον, καὶ κόψει τὴν βοτάνην ταύτης μετὰ ἀμυγδαλίνου ἐλαίου καλῶς, καὶ ποιήσει ὡς μάλαγμα καὶ θήσει ἐπὶ τὸν στόμαχον, θεραπευθήσεται. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ νεῦρά τις πονεῖ, τὸν χύλον ταύτης μετὰ ῥοδίνου ἐλαίου μίξας χρίει, θεραπευθήσεται.

A careful comparison of these passages of Dioscorides will show that almost every sentence has been transferred to the herbals. The prominence of the woman's medicine in Dioscorides is most decided. The magical qualities do not appear in this passage, nor is there any reference to Mt. Taygetus. The plant grows, according to Dioscorides, by runnels, and in hedges and ditches and fields. The same prominence of the woman-medicinal factor appears in the description given by Pliny in his "Natural History" (xxv. 36) as follows:—

"Mulieres quoque hanc gloriam affectavere : in quibus Artemisia uxor Mausoli, adopta herba, quae antea parthenis vocabatur. Sunt quae ab Artemide Ilithyia cognominatam putant, quoniam privatim medeatur feminarum malis, etc."

These sentences also can be traced in the herbals. It is quite likely that Pliny is right in giving the plant the alternative name of "maid's medicine," though we need not trouble further about Artemisia, the wife of Mausolus. She is an obvious after-thought.

That the mugwort has continued as a maid's medicine to our own time may be seen by a pretty story which Grimm quotes from R. Chambers,¹ but without seeing the bearing of the tale.

"A girl in Galloway was near dying of consumption, and all had despaired of her recovery, when a mermaid, who often gave people good counsel, sang:—

Wad ye let the bonnie may die i' your hand,
And the mugwort growing in the land!

They immediately plucked the herb, gave her the juice of it, and she was restored to health. Another maid had died of the same disease,

¹ Grimm, "Teut. Myth." Eng. tr. III. 1211; R. Chambers, "Pop. Rhymes," p. 331; Swainson, "Weather Folk-Lore," p. 60.

and her body was being carried past the port of Glasgow, when the mermaid raised her voice above the water and in slow accents cried :—

If they wad *nettles* drink in March,
And eat *muggons* in May,
Sae mony braw maidens
Wad na gang to the clay."

So it appears that the plant continued as a maid's medicine in Scotland till recent times.

We have now accumulated enough material, or nearly so, to enable us to decide on the relation between Artemis and Artemisia.

It is clear that it is one of the oldest of medicines : *it is the mother of herbs* ; in that respect it ranks with the peony, of which Pliny says ("H.N." xxv. 11) that it is the oldest of medical plants.¹ It is also clear that it is first and foremost women's medicine, and this must be the principal factor in determining the relation between the woman's goddess and the woman's pharmacopœia.

Amongst the special places where the plant is found we have mention of Mt. Taygetus, after which one of the principal varieties of the plant appears to have been named. Now Mt. Taygetus is known from Homer to be the haunt of Artemis, e.g. "Od." vi. 102, 3 :—

οἷη δ' Ἀρτεμις εἰσιν κατ' οὐρεος ἰοχέαιρα,
ἧ κατὰ Τηϋγετον περιμήκετον ἧ Ἐρύμανθον.

Or we may refer to Callimachus' hymn to Artemis, in which the poet asks the goddess her favourite island, harbour, or mountain ; and makes her reply that she loves Taygetus best :—

τίς δέ νύ τοι νήσων, ποῖον δ' ὄρος εὐαδε πλείστον ;
τίς δὲ λιμὴν ; ποίη δὲ πόλις ; τίνα δ' ἔξοχα νυμφέων
φίλαο, καὶ ποίας ἡρωΐδας ἔσχεις ἐταίρας ;
εἶπε, θεά, σὺ μὲν ἀμμῶν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτέροισιν αἰείσω.
Νήσων μὲν Δολίχη, πολίων δέ τοι εὐαδε Πέργη·
Τηϋγετον δ' ὀρέων, λιμένες γε μὲν Εὐρύπιοιο.

If, then, the plant is found on the mountain, then it is the plant that loves the mountain, and not Artemis in the first instance ; or rather, *the plant is Artemis and Artemis is the plant*. Artemis is a woman's goddess and a maid's goddess, because she was a woman's medicine and a maid's medicine. If the medicine is good at

¹ Vetustissima inventu Paeonia est, nomenque auctoris retinet.

child-birth, then the witch-doctress who uses it becomes the priestess of a goddess, and the plant is projected into a deity, just as in the cases previously studied of Dionysos and Apollo.

If the plant is good for the rearing of beautiful and happy children, then the person who uses it is a *κουροτρόφος*, which is one of the titles of Artemis. So far, then, the problem is solved; we can restore the garden of Artemis, and give the chief place in it to the common mugwort who is the vegetable original of the goddess.

This does not explain everything, it raises some other questions: we have not shown why Artemis became a goddess of the chase; nor have we shown why the plant *Artemisia* is good for travellers and keeps them from having tired feet. Was this a real operation of the plant? It is not easy to say. It is clear that the belief that mugwort had such virtue has been very persistent; it is, to be sure, in Pliny, who tells us ("H.N." xxvi. 89):—

"*Artemisiam et elelisphacum alligatas qui habeat viator, negatur lassitudinem sentire.*"

From Pliny it may have passed into the herbals; it is this faculty of never tiring that seems to be involved in the Teutonic name *beifuss*, and Grimm says the name is early, and quotes from Meigenborg (385, 16) the statement that "he that has *beifuss* on him *wearies not on his way*". This may be from Pliny, but where did Pliny get it, and where did the name *beifuss* come from? ¹ The magical power of the herb is also a persistent folk-tradition and not merely a bit of medical lore. "Whoso hath *beifuss* in the house, him the devil may not harm; hangs the root over the door, the house is safe from all things evil and uncanny." ²

There is more investigation to be made in the interpretation of the tradition: but at all events we have found our spring-wort and opened the locked mythological door.

We know now why Apollo and Artemis were brother and sister, and why they became twins. They are the father and the mother respectively of Greek medicine. Their little gardens of simples were next door to one another.

¹ In Baden, the bride puts *beifuss* in her shoe, and a blossom of the plant on the wedding-table. See Wuttke, "Deutsche Volksaberglaube," 133.

² Grimm, l.c.

Now let us indulge for a little the art of speculation, if we may do so without endangering results that have already been arrived at.

To begin with, does the discovery of the plant *Artemis* help us to the understanding of the meaning of the name of the goddess? We recall the fact that the road by which we reached our identification of the plant with the goddess had for its starting-point the personal relation between *Apollo* and *Artemis*. When *Apollo* was tracked to his appropriate vegetable, *Artemis* couldn't be very far off. Analogy may help us in the solution of the nomenclature; we are in the region of medicine; *Apollo* is the mistletoe, and its name is *All-heal*, it is the first and greatest of the line of patent medicines: may not the name of *Artemis* cover also some such meaning? The Homeric ἀρεμής, *safe and sound*, would perhaps meet the requirements of nomenclature for a healing plant. A more doubtful solution has been proposed by some writers on mythology, to take a derivation from the intensive prefix ἀρι—attached to the name of *Themis*; thus Ἄρτεμις = ἀριθέμις = very right, almost as if we had discovered an *all-right* to go with the *all-heal*. The true solution does not seem to have been yet reached.

Now for another point. We have discovered a great god and a great goddess of medicine, witch-doctor, and witch-doctress with appropriate vegetable emblems and origins. We have tried to construct *ab initio* the gardens of herbs from which every existing pharmacy is evolved; and we have acted on the supposition that primitive medicine was herbalism and nothing more. The question arises whether we have not gone too far in excluding altogether the presence of animal and mineral medicines. When Shakespeare's witches make medicine for *Macbeth*, a main part of the ingredients of the charmed pot are animal:—

Toad that under a cold stone
Days and nights hast thirty-one
Swelter'd venom sleeping got,
Boil thou first i' the charmed pot.

And so on. This must be sufficiently true to the witchcraft tradition to have verisimilitude. When did the toad and the tiger and the rest of the witches' larder become available for hag-work? To put it another way, if we take up the treatise of *Dioscorides*, "*De materia medica*," we find that in the second book he treats of animals, oils,

odours, unguents, and when we come near the end of the fifth book that we are introduced to a section *De metallicis omnibus* in which metals and their oxides are described and estimated medically, after the fashion of the four books of more or less botanical medicine which have preceded. Various products of rust, lime, and corals and sponges are introduced. Medicine was not merely herbal to Dioscorides, as we may see further on reference to the remedies proposed in his treatise *περὶ εὐπορίστων*.

It is, however, Pliny that tells us in the most convenient form what really went on. When he comes to his twenty-eighth book he tells us plainly that he has exhausted the herbals and that a larger medicine is to be found in animals and in man. The blood of gladiators, the brains of babies, and every part of the human body have their medical value, down to his spittle which is a protection against serpents, and the hair of his head which can be used to ward off gout. And of course, if human medicine has been carried to such a degree in the extension of the pharmacy, the animals are not excluded, nor their parts and products. An elephant's blood cures rheumatism ; I wish some one would lend me a small elephant ! The elephant having been admitted to the drug-store, we may be sure the ant has not been left out. Pliny is often ashamed of the remedies which he reports, and confesses that they are abhorrent to the mind and only justified by the results. From his manner of treating the subject it seems clear that magic and cruelty and indecency have had a witch's revel in the surgery and the dispensary, and that the introduction of the animal remedies was not something of recent invention when Pliny wrote. So it is quite open to us to make the inquiry as to the extent to which the herb-garden opened into the farm-yard or the zoological garden. Did they really stop a toothache by the use of stag's horn, or find a medicine in a bone which lies hid in the heart of a horse ? Does a wolf's liver really cure a cough ? Who first discovered this admirable use to which a wolf can be put ? and who found out that bears cure themselves by the eating of ants' eggs, and taught us to do the same ?

In order to show the persistence of peculiar animal remedies I am going to take the case of the mouse. I propose to show that the mouse is medicine down to our own times, then that it was widely used as a medicine in Pliny's day ; after which I shall conjecture that it was a very early and primitive medicine.

We will begin with a recipe in a MS. book in my own possession, the still-room book of Mistress Jane Hussey, of Doddington Hall: the MS. is dated in 1692. In this MS. we are advised that "Fry'd mice are very good to eat. And mice flead and dry'd to powder, and the powder mixt with sugar-candy is very good for the chinn cough. You must flea the mice when you fry them. These I know to be good." If I remember rightly one of the herbalists denounces this medicine as a superstition. Anyway, there it is, and it would be ancient enough if we replaced sugar-candy by honey, which is the pharmacist's sweetener of ancient times. We may compare with it the use of mice as medicine in the Lebanon at the present day to cure ear-ache. Now did they use mouse-medicine in early times? Let us see what Pliny says:—

XXIX. 39. The ashes of mice into which honey is dropped will cure earache. This is not very far from the powdered mice with sugar-candy in the Doddington MS. nor from the Lebanon custom. (If an insect has got into the ear use the gall of a mouse with vinegar.)

XXX. 21. There is medicine against calculus made of mouse-dung.

XXX. 23. Ulcers are cured by the ashes of a field-mouse in honey, and apparently, when burnt alive, they are good for ulcers on the feet.

Warts can be cured by the blood of a freshly killed mouse, or by the mouse itself if torn asunder.¹

If you want a sweet breath (XXX. 29) use as a tooth-powder mouse-ashes mixed with honey.

That will be enough to show that our seventeenth-century recipe is of the same kind, at all events, as those which were current in the first century; and if this be so, may it not very well be the case that Apollo Smintheus, or the mouse-Apollo, is best explained by saying that the mouse was an early element in the healing art? I know it is usual to explain the mouse-Apollo on the assumption that Apollo, as the Averter, had rid the country of a plague of field-mice, and that this is the reason why the mouse appears with Apollo on the coins of Alexandria Troas. My solution appears to be the more natural.

¹ Cf. Diosc. "De mat. med." B. 74: *Μύας τοὺς κατοικιδίους ἀνασχισθέντας . . . βρωθέντας δὲ ὀπτοὺς κτέ.*

Moreover, there is another reason for explaining the concurrence of Apollo and the mouse in this way. The mouse is not the only little animal that Apollo is interested in. Archæologists will remember the famous statue of Apollo Sauroktonos, where the god is in the act of catching a lizard. Now we have no reason to suppose that there was a plague of lizards ; on the other hand, we do know that the lizard has a very important place in medicine. For instance, Pliny will tell us that to cure sores (xxx. 12) you must bind a green lizard on you, and change it every thirty days. If you are a woman use the heart of a lizard : (xxx. 23) the blood of a green lizard is a cure for the feet of men and cattle : (xxx. 49) a lizard killed in a particular way is an anti-aphrodisiac : (xxx. 24) its head, or blood, or ashes will remove warts : (xxviii. 38) lizards are employed in many ways as a cure for the troubles of the eyes or (xxviii. 39) of the ears.

From all of which we conclude that the lizard is very ancient medicine, and may very well have been in the Apolline pharmacopœia.

Now let us try a similar inquiry for Artemis. We will begin again with the Doddington Book, and extract some swallow-medicines. For instance, there is a recipe for making "oyle of swallows" by pounding them alive with various herbs. Then there is

My Aunt Markam's swallow-water.

"Take forty or fifty swallows when they are ready to fly, bruise them to pieces in a mortar, feathers and all together : you should put them alive into the mortar. Add to them one ounce of castorum in powder, put all these into a still with three pints of white wine vinegar ; distill it as any other water, there will be a pint of very good water, the other will be weaker : you may give two or three spoonfuls at a time with sugar. This is very good for the passion of the mother, for the passion of the Heart, for the falling-sickness, for sudden sounding fitts, for the dead Palsie, for Apoplexies, Lethargies, and any other distemper of the head, it comforteth the Braine, it is good for those that are distracted, and in great extremity of weakness, one of the best things that can be administered ; it's very good for convulsions." There is another similar remedy to Aunt Markham's in the book, which operates with "two doosen of Live swallows".

Evidently we have here the survival of a very ancient medicine ; its preparation is not a modern invention, except as regards the distil-

lation of the mixture ; and its comprehensiveness (for it is well on the road to being an all-heal) is also a mark of the early stages of the medical art. That Artemis is the patron of the swallow has been maintained : for instance, there is the story which Antoninus Liberalis tells (c. 11) from Boios, how she turned the maiden Chelidonia into a swallow, because she had called upon her in her virgin distress. This story, however, hardly proves of itself the point that we are after. The transformation comes in the midst of a number of other bird-changes, and need not carry any special meaning. If we could infer from it or from elsewhere that Artemis is patron of the swallow, we could easily go on to show from Pliny the prevalence of swallow-medicines in the same way that we found mouse-medicine and lizard-medicine ; and these swallow-medicines might be in the medical apparatus of Artemis. I have not, however, been able to make a consistent or a conclusive argument to this effect.

Amongst the plants that were in the garden of Artemis it seems clear that there was one marsh plant, whether it be the mugwort or not : for the title *Artemis Limnæa* or *Limnatis* is a well-known cult-expression. It must be old, too : for, by some confusion between *Limné* and *Limen* she came to be credited with the oversight of harbours, which, almost certainly, is not the function of the maid and woman's doctor. The expression *Artemis of the Harbour* seems to have had some diffusion, for, as we showed above, Callimachus asks the goddess which mountain she prefers, and which harbour she likes best. The most natural explanation of the Harbour goddess seems to be what we have suggested above.

The herbalists tell us to look for the plant by *runnels* and ditches, and some add (perhaps with Mt. Taygetus in mind) in stony places. We must try and find what the earliest of them say as to the habitat of the plant. If they mention marshes or lakes, then *Artemis Limnæa* is only another name for the *Artemisia*, or for some other plant in her herb-garden.

It is agreed on all hands that Artemis, in her earliest forms, is a goddess of streams and marshes : sometimes she is called the River-Artemis, or Artemis Potamia (see Pindar, "Pyth." II. 12), and sometimes she is named after swamps generally as *Limnæa*, the Lady of the Lake (Miss Lake), or *Heleia* (ἑλεια) the marsh-maiden (Miss Marsh), or from some particular marsh, as *Stymphalos* (Στυμφηλία),

or special river as the Alpheios (Ἀλφειαία). It seems to me probable that this is to be explained by the existence of some river or marsh plant which has passed into the medical use of the early Greek physicians. Artemis has been called the "Lady of the Lake," or "She of the Marsh"; that is a very good nomenclature for a magical marsh plant, as well as for the patroness of marshes and streams.

It is possible that there is a variety of the *Artemisia* which is peculiar to marsh-land. Pallas, in his "Voyages en différentes Provinces de Russie" (IV. 719), speaks of a variety "which is quite different from *Artemisia palustris*": but I do not see the latter name in Linnæus. [I notice, however, that in the British Museum copy of Gmelin, *Flora Siberiaca*, II. 119, against *Artemisia herbacea* is a note in the handwriting of Sir Joseph Banks, *Artemisia palustris* Linn.]

Now that we have established the existence of the garden of herbs (medical and magic) belonging to Hekaté and Artemis, it is proper to ask a question whether the name of Artemis came to be applied to any other of the plants in the herbarium beside the mother-plant, the mugwort. There are certain things which suggest that the name Artemis could be used like an adjective with a number of nouns. It will be noticed that this is almost implied in the title πολώνυμος which is given to Artemis in the Orphic hymns and elsewhere. The objection to this would be that other gods and goddesses are sometimes called πολώνυμος without suggesting that they are adjectival in character to other objects. In the case of Artemis the suggested adjective appears to be applied not only to the plants in the herbarium which she governs, but to the diseases to which the plants serve as healers. Gruppe points out the traces of an Artemis Podagra, the herb that cures gout, and Artemis Chelytis, which seems to be a cough mixture!¹ There is one case of extraordinary interest in which

¹ He is quoting from Clem. Alex. *protr.*, pp. 32, 33, and Clement is quoting from Sosibius: it is not quite clear whether the goddess is the disease to be propitiated in the Roman manner, or whether she is thought of as governing it. The Artemis Cults in question are Spartan, and therefore can be thought of in medical terms, for Artemis was certainly the Healer in Laconia.

Mugwort is still in use in China in the treatment of gout, as may be seen in the following extract from a letter of Prof. Giles:—

"There is quite a 'literature' about *Artemisia vulgaris* L., which

we can register the transfer of the name of the goddess to a particular plant. We have already drawn attention to the *spring-wort*, which opens all doors and has the entrée to all treasure chambers; and we have shown that Artemis and Hekaté are called by the epithet κλειδοῦχος, the one that holds the key, and that Artemis shares this title with another shadowy goddess, a kind of double of her own, whose name is Προθυραία. My suggestion is that the epithet belongs to the spring-wort. Artemis holds the key because she is the spring-wort before which everything opens. If this can be made out for the origin, or rather for one of the first developments of the Artemis Cult (for we have given the first place to the mugwort), then we must, in view of the antiquity of this primitive medicine and these primitive and still widely spread superstitions, look for the same elements in the early Roman Cult. The Romans also must have believed in and honoured the spring-wort: it was not indeed their Diana who was κλειδοῦχος, it was the male counterpart and conjugate of Diana, viz. *Dianus* or *Janus*. One has only to recall the extraordinary antiquity of the Cult of Janus, and the position assigned to him as the opener and closer of all doors, and the genius of the opening year, and his actual representation as a key-bearer,¹ to justify us making a parallel between Janus with the keys, and Artemis (or Hekaté) κλειδοῦχος. The connection which the Latins make between Janus and *Janua* turns upon the same rights of ingress and egress. If Artemis is equated with Προθύραια, what are we to say to Macrobius² when he tells us that

apud nos Janum omnibus præesse januis nomen ostendit, quod est simile Θυραίῳ . . . omnium et portarum custos et rector viarum. He is almost called Προθύραιος in Diosc. (73, 13) where he is spoken of as

Τῷ Ἰάνῳ τῷ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν.

has been used in China from time immemorial for cauterizing as a counter-irritant, *especially in cases of gout*. Other species of *Artemisia* are also found in China."

¹For the representation of Janus with the key (whether interpreted sexually or otherwise) see Ovid, "Fasti," l. 9. :—

Ille tenens baculum dextra, clavemque sinistra :

or Macrobius, "Sat." l. 9, 7 : cum clavi et virga figuratur.

²Macr., "Sat.," l. 9, 7.

The connection of Artemis and Prothyraëa is not unnaturally interpreted in the light of the phenomena of conception and child-birth over which they both preside : but the very same functions, or almost the same, are assigned to Janus by the Latins. The following references are given by Roscher (s.v. "Janus," col. 36). Aug. "de civit. Dei," 7, 2 :—

Ipse primum Janus cum puerperium concipitur. . . . aditum aperit recipiendo semini.

Ibid. 6, 9. Varro . . . enumerare deos cœpit a conceptione hominis, quorum numerum exorsus est a Jano.

Ibid. 7, 3. Illi autem quod aperitur conceptui non immerito adtribui : and for the key of Janus take

Paul. ("Epit. ex Festo," 56, 6) : *clavim consuetudo erat mulieribus donare ob significandam partus facilitatem.*

Following the analogy between the two cults in question, that of the Roman Janus and the Greek Artemis, we are led to conclude that each of them is in one point of view a personification of the powers and qualities of the spring-wort. Nor shall we be surprised when we find that Janus turns up with Picus in the oldest stratum of Roman religion, for the tradition of folk-lore connects the woodpecker and the spring-wurzel, and has much to say as to the guardianship of the former over the latter ; the early stratum of folk-lore answering to an early stratum of religion, when the vegetable and bird-forms have become human.

The spring-wort is obtained in the following manner, as described by Grimm¹ :—

"The nest of a green or black woodpecker, while she has chicks, is closed tight with a wooden bung ; the bird, on becoming aware of this, flies away, knowing where to find a wonderful root which men would seek in vain. She comes carrying it in her bill, and holds it before the bung, which immediately flies out, as if driven by a powerful blow. Now if you are in hiding and raise a great clamour on the woodpecker's arrival, she is frightened, and lets the root fall. Some spread a white or red cloth under the nest, and then she will drop the root on that after using it."

Grimm goes on to quote from Conrad von Megenberg, who says

¹ "Teut. Myth." (Eng. tr.) III. 973.

that the bird is called in Latin *Merops*, and in German *bömheckel*, and that it brings a herb called *bömheckel-krut*, which it is not good for people generally to know of, as locks fly open before it. What is this mysterious herb which they call wonder-flower, key-flower, or spring-wurzel? The tradition is in Pliny (lib. 10, 18), "*adactos cavernis eorum a pastore cuneos, admota quadem ab his herba, elabi creditur vulgo. Trebius¹ auctor est, clavum cuneumve adactum quanta libeat vi arbori, in qua nidum habeat, statim exilire cum crepitu arboris, cum insederit clavo aut cuneo.*"

We can only say of this magic herb, this key-plant or key-flower, that it was Janus and related to Picus; its mythological name was Janus, its botanical name is unknown.

It will have been remarked in the course of the argument that, although we have a very strong case for relating the mugwort to the patronage of Artemis and for identifying the patroness with the plant, yet the descriptions given of the plant's habitat are, perhaps, not sufficiently precise to make us safe in identifying the mugwort with the Artemis Limnæa.

There is, however, another famous magical and medical plant of antiquity that may meet the case more exactly. In Friend's "*Flowers and Flower-Lore*"² we find the following description of the *Osmunda Regalis*, or *King Fern*: "No one who has seen this stateliest of ferns in its most favoured haunts—some sheltered Cornish valley, the banks of a rushing Dartmoor stream, or the wooded margin of Grasmere or Killarney:—

Plant lovelier in its own retired abode
On Grasmere's beach, than Naiad by the side
Of Grecian brook, or Lady of the Mere,
Sole sitting on the shores of old romance,

will doubt that its size and remarkable appearance . . . must always have claimed attention."

Here we have the very title "*Lady of the Lake*" given by Wordsworth to the *Osmunda Fern*.³ This is very like to Artemis Limnæa. Let us see what the herbals say of the places where it is to be found. Parkinson says of it,⁴ "It groweth on moores, boggs, and watery

¹ c. 150 B.C. See Plin., "H.N." IX. 89.

² l.c. I. 159.

³ "Poems on the Naming of Places," IV.

⁴ "Theatrum Botanicum," p. 1039.

places, in many places of this land. I took a roote thereof for my garden, from the bogge on Hampstead Heathe, not far from a small cottäge there."¹

It is not easy, however, to decide whether the Greek herbalists used the King Fern as distinct from other varieties. The ordinary fern is gathered religiously on Midsummer Eve, as Parkinson says, "with I know not what conjuring words," and fern-seed thus acquired is a very ancient medicine for producing invisibility, and for the discovery of treasure: but whether the same thing applies to the *Osmunda* is not clear. All that we have made out with certainty is that its habitat would suit an *Artemis Limnæa*, or *Heleia*, or *Stymphalia*. We need further light on the meaning of the gathering of the Midsummer fern, as well as the parallel rite of the finding of the St. John's wort, and we also want to know much more about the spring-wort. What was it? It is not easy to decide. Several of the magical plants of antiquity can open doors and locate treasure. As we have already stated it was employed by *Artemis-Hekaté*.

Here is another passage in the Orphic "*Argonautica*," which shows how closely *Artemis* and *Hekaté* were identified in the quest for the Fleece. *Hekaté* is described as follows:—

ἦν τέ νυ Κόλχοι
Ἄρτεμιν ἐμπυλὴν κέλαδόδρομον ἱλάσκονται.

Here we note the title of "*Our Lady of the Gate*," which may be a description of her functions as birth-helper, but applies equally well to the more general power of opening gates and bars, such as is involved in the possession of the spring-wort: and certainly it must be this plant which is answerable for the following ll. 986 ff. :—

ἐν δ' ἄφαρ Ἀρτέμιδος φροῦρον δέμας ἦκε χάμαζε
πυύκας ἐκ χειρώων, ἐς δ' οὐρανὸν ἤραρεν ὅσσε.
σαῖνον δὲ σκύλακες πρόπολοι, λύοντο δ' ὀχῆες
κλείθρων ἀργαλέων, ἄνα δ' ἔπτατο καλὰ θύρετρα
τείχεος εὐρυμενοῦς, ὑπεφαίνετο δ' ἄλσος ἐραννόν.

¹ The belief that the *Osmunda* was to be found on Hampstead Heath has come down to our own time. Mrs. Cook of Hampstead, mother of Mr. A. B. Cook, an old lady of eighty-six, knows the tradition well. She writes that she has herself seen it there: "I well remember seeing the *Osmunda Regalis* growing beside the 'Leg of Mutton' pond on Hampstead Heath, though I can't say whether it is there now, for I cannot go out to look".

Here the action is precisely that of the magical spring-wort. This may then be taken as having been in the possession of Artemis.

Artemis, then, may be regarded as a witch with a herb garden, the patroness of women's medicine and of women's magic. Her most powerful charms are the *Artemisia* (mugwort) and the spring-wort (not yet identified with certainty). She is content with the normal processes of nature over which she presides, and does not operate with philtres or artificial stimulants. Her magic is mainly protective. Its chief form consists in the plucking of the mugwort on St. John's Eve and wearing it in the girdle. For this reason the mugwort is called St. John's girdle; it was really Diana's girdle, or Our Lady's girdle. The Venetians call it "*Herba della Madonna*".¹

In Rutebeuf's "*Dit de l'Herberie*,"² we are told as follows:—

"Les fames en ceignent le soir de la S. Jehan et en font chapiaux seur lor chiez, et diete que goute ne avertins (i.e. neither gout nor epilepsy) ne les puet panre (i.e. atteindre) n'en chiez, n'en braz, n'en pie, n'en main."

The passage is interesting in that it shows that the Artemisian magic is protective in character, and also incidentally that one thing against which protection is obtained is the gout, which throws light on the meaning of Artemis Podagra to which we were referring previously. It must be taken to mean that she wards off the gout and other troubles. This protective magic obtained by herbs gathered on St. John's Eve can be illustrated from other plants besides the mugwort. The inhabitants of the island of Zante, for example, gather the vervain at the same time of the year, and "carry this plant in their cincture, as an amulet to drive away evil spirits, and to preserve them from various mischief".³

I think it can be shown that in certain cases the plants were not merely placed in the girdle, but actually made into a cincture. For instance, J. B. Thiers in his "*Traité des Superstitions*" gives a summary of practices condemned by the Church, including:—

Se ceindre de certaines herbes la vielle de Saint Jean, précisément lorsque midi sonne, pour être préservé de toutes sortes de maléfices.

¹ Lenz, "*Botanik u. mineralogie der alten Griechen u. Römer*," p. 185.

² Rutebeuf, i. 257.

³ Walpole, "*Memoirs of Travels in Turkey*," p. 248.

Bertrand in "La Religion des Gaulois" (p. 408) quotes a correspondent's description of the Midsummer fires as practised in Creuse et Corrèzes : The fathers and mothers warm themselves at the bonfire, taking care *to put round their middles* a girdle of rye stalks. Aromatic plants are gathered by the young people, and kept throughout the year as specifics against sickness and thunder.

It will be remembered that in discussing the origin of the healing powers of Apollo, and locating them in the first instance in the mistletoe, we were able to show that this elementary medicine, without an external anthropomorph to preside over it, was still current among the Ainu of Japan, who regard the mistletoe as an Allheal, after the manner of the Celtic Druids. From the same quarter, or nearly the same, comes the interesting verification of the correctness of our belief in the primitive sanctity of the vegetables that became respectively Dionysos and Artemis.

We learn from Georgi, the editor of eighteenth-century travels in Siberia, and author of a book entitled "Description de toutes les nations de l'Empire de Russie," that "*the pine-tree, a kind of mugwort and the ivy* of Kamschatka are the plants consecrated to the gods, and their scent is agreeable to them ; that is why they decorate their idols and their victims with these plants".

Here are Dionysos and Artemis on their way to personification : we must not take too seriously what the writer says about the gods and the idols. No doubt he is right that they had sacrifices of some kind to spirits, but it is not necessary to assume that Kamschatka, any more than Northern Japan, was at the Greek level in religion.

Georgi adds a note to his description of the mugwort in Siberia, to the effect that the plant is called Irwen by the Katchins in Burma and some other peoples. Apparently this means that mugwort has come into Northern Burma as a medicinal plant. If this can be established, the antiquity and diffusion of the Artemis medicine is sufficiently established. The evidence which Georgi brings forward of the cult use of ivy amongst the Kamschatkans will require an important correction to one of our speculations in the Essay on the "Cult of Dionysos." It will be remembered that we explained the title of Perikionios applied to Dionysos as being a Greek variation on a title Perkunios, implying that Dionysos was affiliated to the Thunder-god Perkun. Let us see what Georgi has further to say about the Ivy-Cult.

“ Les Kamschatdales érigent dans leur déserts de petites colonnes qu'ils entourent de lierre, et les regardent comme des Dieux, en leur adressant un culte religieux ” (l.c. p. 149).

It seems that this is the same cult as that of Dionysos Perikionios among the Greeks, and in a very early form. We may therefore discard, as Mr. A. B. Cook suggested, the derivation of Perikionios from Perkun.

Enough has been said to illustrate the magic of Artemis, and we only need to be reminded once more that the medicine of the past lies close to the magic, and cannot be dissociated from it. Artemis is at once a plant, a witch, and a doctor. Her personification may be illustrated from “The Times” obituary for 24 February, 1916, which contains the name Beifus! The name is more common than one would at first imagine. My friend, Conrad Gill, writes me that “there was a lieutenant named Beyfus in the battalion of which my brother was medical officer”. I noted recently a by-form of the same name in a book-catalogue:—

Beibitz (J. H.): *Jesus Salvator Mundi*: Lenten Thoughts:

This is the same name as the German *Beiboz*.

When Aristides, the Christian philosopher of the second century, denounced the irregularities of the Olympians, he said of Artemis that it was “disgraceful that a maid should go about by herself on mountains and follow the chase of beasts: and therefore it is not possible that Artemis should be a goddess”; the form taken by the apologetic is hardly one that commends itself to the present generation; even in Wordsworth's time it would have been subject to the retort,

Dear child of nature, let them rail!

Our investigation, then, is a missing link in the propagandist literature of Christianity!

THE ENGLISH CIVIL SERVICE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.¹

By T. F. TOUT, M.A., F.B.A.

BISHOP FRASER PROFESSOR OF MEDIÆVAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

THERE is little need to expatiate to a twentieth-century audience on the nature and functions of the Civil Service of the modern British state. To us the civil servant is with us always. He rules us from a score of palaces of bureaucracy in Westminster and beyond. Each time that our benevolent rulers extend for our benefit the sphere of state intervention, they are compelled to make a new call on the activity of this ever-increasing class. The result is that those who fondly imagined that modern England was a democracy are gradually discovering that it is in reality a bureaucracy. Our real masters are not the voters. Still less are they the vote-hunting politicians who flit from office to office, either singly or in whole packs. Our masters are the demure and obscure gentlemen in neat black coats and tall hats who are seen every morning flocking to the government offices in Western London at hours varying inversely with their dignity.

I am far from saying that our masters do their work badly ; on the whole they perform their task quite well. It is true that their point of view as governors is not always ours as the governed, and that the loyalty to tradition, which springs up, like a mushroom, in the youngest office, seems to us outsiders occasionally to degenerate into what we irreverently call the cult of red tape, and that their noble sense of their own dignity may occasionally incline towards pomposity and superciliousness. Our masters mainly live and work in London, and only rarely and reluctantly do the higher grades of the class establish themselves permanently in the "provinces". But they are always glad to inspect or to visit or in some other way to direct the

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 15 December, 1915.

benighted provincial into the right road of progress. Thus we in the North, though we see but seldom in our midst the more exalted types of bureaucrat, have constant occasion to realize their activities. We have been forced to protect ourselves from them by the homœopathic method of creating lesser bureaucracies of our own. How successful we are is shown by the fact that our own local palace of bureaucracy in Albert Square is, for all its vastness, insufficient to contain the myriad of servants of the city corporation that should normally pass within it their working lives.

However much we may grumble, this growth of bureaucracy is inevitable. It is in fact a result of the increasing complexity of modern civilization, and is emphasized by the constant growth of state intervention. Time was when a serious effort was made by our grandfathers to realize the ideal of *laissez faire*; but *laissez faire* was always much more theory than practice, and in neither relation did it ever come near success.

Our life could not be lived on the hypothesis that the state was nothing more than a glorified policeman. Now we are all more or less socialists: we all recognize that the mission of the state covers the whole of life. To discharge so wide a function the public service, both central and local, requires all the skill that training and knowledge can give. We have therefore imperative need for the trained specialist who makes administration the work of his life. At his best, his skill enables us to be well governed. At his worst, he may still save us from the vagaries of the amateur, who, whether as member of parliament or city councillor, thinks that the leisure of a busy life is sufficient to devote to the highly technical and difficult trade of government. We cannot therefore do without the professional administrator, the bureaucrat. Our amateur politicians, on the other hand, have the equally indispensable task imposed upon them of calling the tune which the bureaucrat should sing, and of watching over his restless activity and turning it into profitable channels.

We are sometimes told that the elaboration of the political machinery of the state, which involves the existence of a bureaucratic class, is the work of quite modern times. No doubt many of the refinements of permanent officialism are modern enough. The very words, civil service, civil servant, which we familiarly use to describe

the permanent public official, are things of yesterday. No instances of the use of these terms can be found in our language before the reign of George III. It originated apparently among the early British administrators of India rather than in the British Islands. It seems first to have been used by the East India Company, after Clive's conquest of Bengal, to distinguish the administrative officers of the company who were not military by profession. It was only slowly that the technical phrase of the Anglo-Indian was also adopted for home use. The *New English Dictionary* gives us no instance of the wider employment of these terms earlier than some sixty years ago. Indeed I can find no earlier example of the familiar use of the phrase civil service, as applied to the officials of the British crown, than in the title of the report, issued in 1853, on "the organization of the permanent civil service". This report is memorable as having first suggested to an unheeding generation of place-hunters the policy of the free admission to the public service, without jobbing or nomination of all such male persons of sound health as have acquitted themselves best in a stiff competitive examination. It was the work of two officials, Sir Charles Trevelyan of the Treasury, and Sir Stafford Northcote of the Board of Trade, who were encouraged to persevere in their views by the reforming zeal of the new chancellor of the exchequer, W. E. Gladstone. If we study the correspondence and discussions provoked by Trevelyan's report, we find—for the first time so far as I can find—the word "civil service" applied to the permanent public servants of the English state. We can read it in 1854 in the letters of Lord John Russell opposing Trevelyan's revolutionary plans, in those of Gladstone advocating them, and in the note to Gladstone in which Queen Victoria gives a very guarded and reluctant assent to the general idea. The establishment of the Civil Service Commission in 1855, to carry out the new plan of examinations, made the term, so to say, official. It did not at once spread outside political circles. Thus Dickens, who published in 1857 in *Little Dorrit* his well-known denunciations of the Circumlocution office and of the Barnacle clan, never speaks of the civil service, though one Mr. Barnacle describes himself as a "public servant". In the light of these suggestions it seems as if the notice of the phrase civil servant in the *New English Dictionary* would be the better for a little elaboration. If I may venture to hazard a guess

on a topic quite outside my ordinary studies, it almost looks as if Sir Charles Trevelyan, a retired Indian civil servant, to whom the phrase was an everyday one, was perhaps unwittingly responsible for extending into general currency a term restricted in an earlier generation to the civil service of India. Within a few years the term civil service was to be heard from every one's lips.

Whether or not we have the name, we have the thing, hundreds of years earlier. The public servants of the crown, whose special sphere was administration and finance, and who were professional administrators, not professional soldiers, go back to the earliest ages of the English state. They existed, but barely existed, in the later days of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy. They first became numerous, powerful, and conspicuous when the Norman kings gave England a centralized administration and a trained body of administrators. Their influence rose to a high level in the reigns of Henry II and his sons, when England, thanks to their work, was the best governed and most orderly state in all Western Europe. By this time another process was beginning. The early civil servants, like all early public officials, were simply members of the king's household. The king's clerks, accountants, and administrators belonged to the same category as the king's cooks, scullions, grooms, and valets. The public service of the state then was hopelessly confused with the domestic service of the court. Bit by bit, however, we get to the first stages of the long process by which the national administrative machine was slowly disentangled from the machinery which regulated the domestic establishment of the monarch. The time was still far distant when the modern distinction was made between the king in his private and public capacities, between the royal officers who ruled the king's household, and those who carried on the government of the country. Our mediæval ancestors were moved even less than ourselves by theoretical considerations. But for very practical reasons the kings found it impossible not to draw some sort of line between the men who helped them to govern the country and the men who waited on the monarch or strove to keep in order his vast and disorderly household. For one thing the king was always on the move. A Norman or Angevin monarch had no fixed "residence" and still less a fixed "capital". Business and inclination united to make him live a wandering life from one royal estate to another. Economic necessity alone

kept him plodding through his continued journeys. So great was the dearth of means of communication, and so difficult was the transport of bulky commodities, that it was much easier to take men and horses to their food than to bring their food to them.

The whole administrative machine of our early kings was a part of the court. Accordingly it followed the king on his constant wanderings. It was not the least of the troubles of those, who wished to transact business with the government, that they had to find out where the king was and to attend him in his restless movements from place to place. So long as the magnates of each district ruled each one over his own estate, so long as the freemen of shire, hundred, or borough were mainly governed in their local courts, these inconveniences occurred so seldom that they counted for very little. But by Henry II's reign the English king had centralized so much authority under his immediate direction that all men of substance had frequent occasion to seek justice or request favours at the court. Moreover, as the administrative machine became more complex, it became a constantly harder task to carry about with the court the ever-increasing tribe of officials, to say nothing of the records, registers, and rolls that they found necessary for business or for reference. The remedy was found in establishing a headquarters for each administrative department at some fixed spot, where permanent business was transacted and where the records of the office were preserved. It was for this practical reason that the civil service slowly differentiated itself from the domestic environment of the king. For similar practical reasons London, or rather Westminster, was found the most convenient fixed spot for each permanent central bureau.

The financial administration was the first to acquire a separate life of its own. In days when government meant exploitation, the highest aim of the ruler was to get as much out of his subjects as he could. The good king of those days promoted his people's welfare because he had the wit to see that a prosperous community could afford to pay more taxes and was likely to yield them up with less friction or rebellion. It was natural then that finance should loom largest in the royal scheme of the universe, and that the greatest attention should be devoted to the collection and administration of the royal revenue. Accordingly the good old days when Edward the Confessor kept his treasure in a box in his bedroom passed away. Under Henry I the first of modern

government offices arose in the king's Exchequer, and under Henry II the king's Exchequer had a permanent home of its own at Westminster. If the title of chamberlain, borne by some of the king's Exchequer officials, shows its origin in the king's bedroom or chamber, the Exchequer was before the end of the twelfth century in all essentials an independent office of state. Its staff was quite separate from the service of the court. It was in modern phrase a branch—for the time being the only branch—of the king's civil service.

I have spoken of the Exchequer as a financial office, and I have done so because its main concern was with finance. But we must not expect meticulous distinctions in these days between various branches of the royal service. The business of government was still so primitive: the number of skilled officers so small: their resources so limited, that every servant of the king had, like the modern country workman or the present Indian civilian in a remote district, to turn his hand to any job that came in his way. If he did not do it, there was no one else who could, and the job remained undone. Accordingly the Exchequer officer is often found trying lawsuits, going on missions, and transacting all sorts of business that had no close relation with finance. As time went on, this proved inconvenient, and just as the twelfth century saw the creation of the financial department, so did the thirteenth century witness the slow separation from the court of a second office of state, whose main business was administration. This administrative department grew out of the little office where the chaplains of the court occupied themselves in writing out the king's letters between the hours of divine service. One of these chaplains, called the chancellor, was entrusted with the custody of the king's seal. Now in an age when writing was a rare art with laymen, and when all writing looked much alike, a great man did not authenticate his letters by signing them but by affixing his seal to them. The keeping of the king's seal then involved responsibility for the composition of the king's correspondence. Now the confidential clerk, who writes a man's letters, may generally more or less suggest the policy these letters involve. It resulted that, as the king's general secretary, the chancellor became the most trusted of all the king's ministers, his secretary of state for all departments, as Stubbs has rightly called him. He was, in effect, prime minister, and to do his work he had to gather round him a staff of skilled officials. The result was the complete separation

of the king's scribes from the king's chaplains, the growth of a class of clerks of the Chancery who by the fourteenth century were the ablest, most powerful, and most energetic of all officers of state. The Chancery, however, long remained a part of the court, mainly because it was to the king's interest to have his chief minister always by his side. But as the office became larger, and as its prudent habit of enrolling all its acts swelled its official records to an enormous size, the same reason, which separated the Exchequer from the court, began to apply also to the Chancery. The process was made more imperative when the barons put in their claim to control the government of the country equally or almost equally with the king. At last a sort of compromise was arrived at by which the Chancery, though still partly following the court, wandered less freely and in smaller circles. It now had headquarters of its own in London, where the clerks lived a sort of collegiate life in common. It kept there its ever-increasing mass of records, and kept them in the very same place where the Public Record Office now preserves the accumulated archives of every great department of state. By the days of Edward II the Chancery, like the Exchequer since Henry II, had become a government office, self-contained, self-sufficing, with its own staff, traditions, and methods, and plainly separated from the court.

The Exchequer and the Chancery, the office of finance and the office of administration, were the two first government departments in the modern sense. A third and lesser office separated itself from the court in the reign of Edward III. This was the office of the privy seal, whose keeper and clerks gradually drifted out of court in the generation succeeding the differentiation by the Chancery from the household. The king's privy seal was originated about the reign of John when the great seal, and its keeper the chancellor, became so much public officers that they were no longer always at hand when their lord wished to write a letter. Moreover, the chancellor was a great man, who, though nominally the king's servant, often had a will of his own and often agreed with the barons rather than his royal master. The result was that, as Chancery and chancellor drifted out of court, there still remained, as closely attendant as of old on the monarch in all his wanderings, the ancient writing and administrative department which continued to do for the king's household the work originally done by the chancellor. It was soon natural for the king

to set up his domestic chancery against the public chancery, the privy seal against the great seal. The barons tried to stop this by claiming the control of the household office as well as the public one. Neither king nor barons could get all their way, and in the long run a sort of compromise was again arrived at. The privy seal went "out of court". It became a minor administrative office, sometimes perhaps relieving the Chancery, more often, I suspect, clogging the wheels of the administration. The result was a third type of fourteenth century civil servant in the clerks of the privy seal.

Though all these offices of state arose one after the other from the royal household, the household itself went on much as before. Even under Edward III the line between domestic and public administration was not yet drawn. The household offices continued to overlap the offices of state. If the Exchequer controlled the national revenues, it had a rival in the domestic office called the king's chamber, which remained, as in primitive times, the household office of finance. The king's wardrobe in the same way was no longer the cupboard where the king hung up his clothes, but a well-equipped office of domestic administration. It was in effect the private chancery of the court, and almost rivalling the public chancery of state. Each branch of the king's household was now manned in part at least by skilled professional administrators. The clerks of the chamber and the clerks of the wardrobe might well be included as a fourth type of mediæval civil servant. If I speak but little of this class it is because, with all its importance in the administration, its best work was over by the death of Edward III. As we near the fifteenth century, it became increasingly absorbed in its domestic work and less and less employed in the public government by the state. Yet no sooner had this process gone forward to a considerable degree than new court administrative offices began to take the lead in directing national affairs. I should, however, get far beyond my period were I to speak of the secretariat of state, the signet office and the newer administrative machinery of the last period of the middle ages. We must remember, however, that these new departments had their origin in the course of the fourteenth century.

So much for the offices : and now for the men who filled them. My apology for troubling you so much with the growth of the administrative departments is that some knowledge of them is indispensable for the appreciation of the work and position of the official

class with whom we are primarily concerned. It will be my business now to try and suggest what manner of man was the civil servant who filled these offices of state.

The bare sketch of the growth of the offices will suffice to dissipate the illusion that the middle ages had no civil servants. In some ways the bureaucrat was as active and vigorous in the fourteenth century as he is in the twentieth. But we should be rash to think that he closely resembled the civil servant of the modern state. Mediæval society was always on a small scale even in great kingdoms. Mediæval resources were miserably feeble as compared with those of modern times. Men were as clever then as they are now ; they were almost as "civilized". But they were overwhelmingly inferior to moderns in the command of material resources, and but a fraction of the meagre material forces at the disposal of society was under the control of the mediæval state. Hence the very slight extent to which the division of labour could be pushed. When the principle of differentiation had gone so far as to make a civil service possible, its members were but imperfectly specialized. The offices of state were few ; nevertheless they overlapped hopelessly ; everything was in a state of flux ; and the mediæval civilian, like the modern blue-jacket, was compelled to be a "handy man" by the situation in which his lot was cast. Even in our own highly organized society it is possible, especially in times like this, for clerks to be shifted from one office to another, or for outsiders to be called in to discharge temporary war work. Under mediæval conditions the same end was attained by everybody doing everybody else's job, sometimes to the neglect of his own. The mediæval civil servant then was much less specialized than his modern counterpart.

Another striking point of dissimilarity between the modern and the mediæval civilian is that the great majority of the latter were clergymen. We still call the civil servant a clerk, just as we speak of the clerks of a bank or a merchant's office. If we ever ask ourselves what "clerk" means, we should probably say that it involves a life devoted to the mechanical task of writing, book-keeping, accounting, and copying. But historically a clerk means simply a clergyman, a member of the broad class of actual or potential ministers of the Church. In the early middle ages it was a matter of course to regard all men of education as clerks. Writing and accounting were rare gifts for a layman, the

more so since all letters were written and all accounts kept in Latin. It was because they knew how to write and keep accounts in Latin that clerks were alone trusted to man the primitive offices of state. Now these clerks were not necessarily "clerks in holy orders"; they were not even necessarily "clerks in minor orders". You could enter the clerical profession as soon as you had induced some prelate to give you the "first tonsure". With the shaven crown went the clerical dress and the important privilege of benefit of clergy, that is the right of being judged for all offences by members of your own order, and in practice the useful privilege of committing your first crime with comparative impunity. The tonsured clerk might, if he would, afterwards proceed to "orders," minor or holy; but in numerous cases he did not even enter minor orders, and it was quite common for him not to take holy orders, that is he never became a sub-deacon, deacon, or priest. Very often he passed through these stages, hastily and perfunctorily, when his service to the state received its crowning reward in a bishopric. There were few instances of mediæval civil servants declining the office of bishop, the highest stage of holy orders. Now for the majority of clerks in government offices there was little need to assume more clerical responsibility than prudence required. For holy orders were permanent and indelible; the tonsure alone gave benefit of clergy, and the worldly clerk only needed orders to qualify him for a benefice. Thus the clerical class was very elastic and very large. In fact it comprehended all educated men, most lawyers, most physicians, all scholars, graduates, and students of universities, and most boys in grammar schools. And the clerk, when a clerk, had the disabilities as well as the advantages of his profession. All professional men then were compulsory celibates; by abandoning the clerical status they lost all prospect of worldly advancement in the one profession that had great prizes to offer.

By the fourteenth century this state of things was already passing away. There was an ever-increasing number of educated laymen, and a new lucrative profession was fully open to lay enterprise. This was that of the pleaders and exponents of English law. The schools of the "common lawyers" in London were the first schools in England where men could study for a profession without becoming clerks. But we have not got to the time when to be a barrister was to possess the master key to politics. The lawyers had, then as now, more than their

share of good things ; but the common lawyer at least was rarely a civil servant, though he might sometimes become a minister. It was the civil and canon laws, the law of Rome and the law of the church, not the common law, that were most pursued by those who aspired to the public service. The civil and canon laws were the only laws studied in the universities : their students then were all necessarily clerks.

There were some advantages in the clerical official. He was better educated on the average ; often a graduate, sometimes a distinguished doctor, or master, of Paris or Oxford. He was generally a man with a career to make, and likely therefore to be more devoted and less scrupulous in the service of his master. Moreover, clerks could easily be rewarded without expense to the king. They could be enriched by livings, dignities, prebends, bishoprics ; while the laymen could only be satisfied by grants of land that belonged to the royal domain or by the custody of royal wards or by the hand of heiresses in the king's guardianship. At the worst, the clerk could be quietly got rid of by being given some job that kept him away from his office. Moreover, a strong practical disadvantage that told against lay officials was the fact that in the early middle ages all lay offices tended to become hereditary. For instance in the Exchequer, the oldest of the offices of state, there had been from the beginning a considerable lay element. Originally the layman did the rough work, while the clerks wrote, directed, and kept accounts. But by the fourteenth century laymen were as often as competent as clerks for these delicate operations. Long before that, however, the original lay offices of the Exchequer had become "hereditary serjeantries," and had fallen into the hands of families so swelled by the profits of royal service that their representatives were too dignified to do their work. Accordingly, they were allowed to appoint some person of inferior social status who was not too much of a gentleman to be afraid of soiling his hands with labour. The result was that many actual working members of the Exchequer staff were appointed not by the king but by some nobleman, and that nobleman was often a bitter enemy of the royal policy. We may well pity Edward II when one of his fiercest opponents, the grim Earl of Warwick, nicknamed by the royal favourite the Black Dog of Arden, had the right to nominate the man who did the work of his hereditary office of chamberlain of the Exchequer. The Black Dog showed that he could bite by killing Gaveston ; but until the earl's dying day the king had to accept the man his enemy

chose to discharge the functions in the Exchequer which devolved by inheritance to the house of Warwick. There is no wonder then that to the king the clerk, who could not legally found an hereditary house, was a better servant than a layman who expected to be the source of a new landed family. It was only by employing clerks that the monarch could be master of his own household.

This state of things was beginning to pass away by the fourteenth century, but the warning of the Exchequer sergeantries had not been lost. In the Exchequer clerks did, under the Edwards, the work which, under Henry II, was performed by laymen, holding office from father to son. Moreover, Exchequer business was now largely in the hands of personages called "barons of the exchequer". It was perhaps for reasons like this that the Exchequer clerical staff was larger in the fourteenth than in the twelfth century. For instance, the barons could be, and were, indifferently clerks or laymen. But the head of the office, the treasurer, was always a clerk and generally was, or became, a bishop. The most rigidly clerical office was that of chancellor of the Exchequer, an officer who had the pay and status of a baron. This post remained clerical because the chancellor kept the Exchequer seal, and seal keeping was still looked upon as essentially clerical work. Of our modern famous chancellors of the Exchequer perhaps Mr. Gladstone might have felt a greater satisfaction in the early clerical traditions of his office than, say, Sir William Harcourt or Mr. Lloyd George.

As contrasted with the Exchequer the newer offices of state, one and all, opened up few chances to the layman. The Chancery, for instance, was entirely staffed with clerks. Not only was there a clerical chancellor, but the very numerous Chancery clerks who worked under him were clerks in fact as well as in name. The Chancery clerks were, I imagine, both the most important and the ablest of mediæval civil servants. Many of them were doctors of the civil and canon law. Among their special spheres was diplomacy and foreign politics. In the fourteenth as in the twentieth century diplomacy was the genteelst of professions. To this day the Foreign Office is spared the disastrous results on its manners and tone that might have followed had its officials, like those of less dignified departments, been selected by open competition. Perhaps brains and social graces do not always go together, and even nowadays a little more brains might have its

use in diplomacy. But the practical mediæval mind secured the happy mixture of good breeding and capacity necessary, let us say, to persuade or coerce a Balkan prince of German origin, by putting a great nobleman at the head of a foreign embassy, while associating with him a bishop, who had, perhaps, begun life as a chancery clerk, to help out his intelligence, and a chancery clerk or two still on the make, to supply the necessary hard work and technical knowledge. At home, even more than abroad, there were many fields open to the zealous Chancery clerk. Accordingly the Chancery was thronged by the academic youth of ability anxious for distinction in the public service. Fourteenth-century Oxford had already marked out this career as its own; but while the modern lay Oxonian prepares himself for the public service by reading for a stiff examination, his mediæval prototype, already pledged to a clerical career, was forced to avail himself, to procure office, of the methods of influence and intrigue by which a few of our public offices are still staffed. And if the lay civil servant seemed to the mediæval mind almost the last word in radicalism, it goes without saying that mediæval conditions and ideals made it unthinkable to employ women in the public service of the state.

Let us next speak of methods of appointment. In the beginnings of the public service under the Normans, the crown sold offices of state to the highest bidders, who recouped themselves for their capital outlay, not only by the legitimate profits of office but still more by the unlawful but customary peculations and extortions in which the early mediæval functionary delighted. By the fourteenth century this primitive method had been partly outgrown; though we had a modern recrudescence of it in the sale of commissions in the army, only abolished in 1871. I have already spoken of the prevalence and of the inconvenience of the hereditary transmission of office. There was only one alternative way to it, for the modern method of recruiting the civil service by open competition was inconceivable in an age when the cult of the examination was a novelty. This other way was the method of nomination, sometimes perhaps by conscientious selection, more often I fear by jobbery, local, family, or personal. Still under the circumstances then prevailing, I am fairly sure that the young man of parts and push had nearly as good a chance then as he has nowadays. Yet jobbery there was to almost any extent. There were innumerable mediæval instances of the sublime method of appointment still pre-

valent in subordinate posts in the law courts by which, we are told, it happens that at present of nine chief officers of the King's Bench seven are relatives of judges and of the eight clerks of assize five are sons of judges. This is the system than which a luminary of the Scottish bar ingenuously tells us that he "does not know of any better". It would be impossible to draw from contemporary politics a more happy and complete survival of the mediæval mind.

It was one of the happy results of the clerical element in the mediæval service that our celibate clerical officials had not, or ought not to have had, so many opportunities of jobbery for their sons as are vouchsafed to the sages of the law in modern democratic Britain. Here again the layman had a better chance than the cleric, though the cleric's family feeling could find plenty of scope in promoting the interests of his numerous nephews. But there are other forms of jobbery besides hereditary jobbery; and although family influence was very strong in the middle ages, the commonest of all sorts of mediæval jobbery seems to have been "feudal" and local, rather than personal. The official that had "got on" planted not only his kinsfolk but his tenants and retainers and their families, in humbler cases the youth of his own village or district, in any posts of which he had the patronage. In the same way the king, as the ultimate fountain of office, always bestowed special favour on men sprung from manors on the royal domain. It is astonishing how large a proportion of mediæval officials showed by their surnames—surnames of the local type—that they traced their origin to some royal estate. Nor was this method of selection merely the result of favouritism. The close personal tie of lord and vassal was, under fourteenth-century conditions, the strongest possible guarantee of faithful service. And loyalty and fidelity were then plants so rare that they deserved cultivation on whatsoever soil they were able to grow. If a mediæval minister had been asked to justify his methods of appointment, he could have said with a better conscience than a modern lawyer that he "knew no better". Anyhow, as things went in these days, the king was often ably and sometimes honestly served. In the atmosphere of slackness and peculation which prevailed in the middle ages, we can expect no more than this.

The modern civil servants are proud to be non-political and permanent. Can we say the same of their mediæval comrades? The answer, as to so many other historical questions, is both "yes"

and "no". The public servant was "non-political" in the same sense that we use the term to-day, that is, the sense of non-party. This was inevitable since there were no parties such as we moderns are only too familiar with. To a limited extent there was the nucleus of a party system, to say nothing of a pretty rank growth of faction. The chronic struggle between courtiers and the barons of the opposition, the contest between bureaucracy and aristocracy, which we can discern all through the fourteenth century, foreshadows to a modest extent the more recent strife between Whig and Tory. But these factions represent tendencies rather than organized parties. Mediæval principles were too fluid, political conditions too unstable, to permit of the growth of permanent parties, aiming at the control of the state. There was consequently only the faintest suggestion of party government, for it was universally allowed that the king governed England with the help of such ministers as he personally chose to help him. The most that the politician could hope to do was to induce the king to take his advice. If the king could not be persuaded to listen to his minister, that functionary had, like Venezelos, to retire into private life and let the king do as he would. Failing this, his only resources were coercion, conspiracy, or rebellion, courses which, under a weak king, an Edward II or a Richard II, had always a good chance of success. But even the feeblest king had a way of turning the tables on the successful opponent of the royal will. The best way of securing a permanent change of policy was to depose or kill the peccant king, and put somebody with sounder principles in his place. This happened twice within seventy years, and on the whole the process did as much good as harm.

You may say that I am straying from my subject and am digressing from civil servants to politicians. But this is not so, for another of the distinctions between mediæval and modern political conditions is the fact that there was no clear line of division between the politicians in high office and the permanent public officials. A few great earls and barons might have an hereditary right to take a leading share in the king's councils without the preliminary training of the public service. But the greater lay magnates ruled by influence rather than as officials, for the highest dignitaries in the administration, the chancellor and the treasurer, were ecclesiastics, and in many cases had worked themselves up to these posts and to the bishoprics, which were

the material reward of their political services, as public servants in the Chancery, the Exchequer, and, still more often, in the wardrobe and household. In fact the minister of state was as likely as not to be a promoted civil servant. Mediæval England, down to and including Tudor times, was ruled, like the modern German Empire, by ministers who had made their mark in the civil service of the crown. In Great Britain the best of modern civil servants can aspire to nothing higher than the influential obscurity of a permanent under-secretary, acting under the orders of the "lawyer politician," the party leader, the Cabinet minister, whose ignorance of the technicalities of the work for which he is responsible, causes him, if a prudent man, to adopt his more experienced underling's advice. But our greatest political ministers of the fourteenth century were, like the leading German statesmen from Stein and Bismarck down to Bethmann-Hollweg, promoted civil servants. Thus Robert Burnell and Walter Langton, the strongest ministers of Edward I, William of Wykeham, the best-known chancellor of Edward III, were alike in this that they were officers of the household, raised by their talents and royal favour to the highest ministries of state.

Under these conditions the English civil service was almost as "non-political" and a good deal more "permanent" than were the mighty ministers of state who so largely emerged from the official class. This is seen when, among other foreshadowings of modern conditions, we find in the reign of Edward III something like the beginnings of parties and two ministerial crises, those of 1340 and 1371, in which one party drove its rivals from the king's favour and therefore from office. In both these years the whole ministry was turned out, really because the king disliked their policy, nominally because they were clergymen. Let us not, however, look upon even this as a clearly marked party triumph. To the shrewdest of contemporary chroniclers it was a struggle not between parties but between the king's confidential household advisers and the ministers holding the great offices of state.¹ But when in 1340 the clerical treasurer and chancellor gave way to the first laymen appointed to these offices, the chief clerks of the Chancery and Exchequer, numerous judges, sheriffs, and other minor officials shared their fate. The underlings went into the wilderness along with the heads of the departments, just as in the

¹ Murimouth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, p. 323.

United States every petty office is vacated when the swing of the political pendulum replaces a democratic by a republican president. The doctrine, sacred to Tammany and the machine politician, that to the victor belong the spoils was one which might well have appealed to the politician of the fourteenth century.

Such general changes as those in 1340 were extremely rare. They were the more infrequent since the mediæval placeman—high and low, and especially the low—was as a rule very much of the vicar of Bray's way of thinking. Whatever king or policy reigned, he regarded it to be the very root of the matter that he should cling tightly to the emoluments of office. And his easy-going masters seldom disturbed him as long as he did his daily task decently and did not criticize the higher powers. Nor need we blame the mediæval placeman for his apparent want of principle. High affairs of state were no more his business than they were the concern of the man in the street. He was a paid functionary, not always a well-paid functionary, when duty was obedience to his masters. He trusted his masters to do his thinking for him and to understand what it was no business of his to study. Obedience, loyalty, discipline were the ideals before him. Thinking out the rights and wrongs of policy was outside his job. Inspired by these conceptions, the rank and file of the civil service grew grey in their offices, vacating them only by reason of promotion, death, or incapacity to discharge the daily task. Even if they moved from office to office, they remained functionaries for the whole of their working lives.

Let us turn from the principles, or the want of them, of the mediæval placeman to the payments given for his services, to his professional prospects, as we should say. His direct pay was inconsiderable and irregular, and it was only after his particular office got separated from the household that the mediæval civil servant had the advantage of pay at all. To this scanty wage, when he got it, he clung with touching devotion. Let us not blame him, for the labourer is worthy of his hire, and it was a hard job under mediæval conditions to secure a living wage. But let us not think that the mediæval public servant was an idealist. Like most mediæval men, he would do nothing until he saw the chance of getting something out of it. The richest of mediæval members of parliament saw no harm in taking the few shillings a day, paid them by their constituents, for each day's attendance at parliament. The sentiment of an eminent modern statesman,

which I read in to-day's paper, "I take my salary and am going to continue taking it," would have struck a sympathetic chord in every mediæval breast, and have elicited even warmer emotions than the "loud cheers" which greeted the utterance in yesterday's House of Commons. The mediævalist may again stray wide of his subject to express his satisfaction that the impalpable "mediæval atmosphere" is not altogether dissipated by the drab-coloured conditions of modern times.

If the pay of the mediæval public servant was scanty and irregular, the indirect advantages of serving the state were open, gross, and palpable. Here the clerical official had the same pull over his lay colleagues that the clerical schoolmaster—another curious survival of the one profession period—still has over the lay instructor of youth. Besides the chances of his immediate career, the prizes, small and large, of a great profession were open to him. Clerical preferment increased the scanty wages of his post, while he held it; clerical preferment enabled him to retire betimes and enjoy a comfortable old age on his living, his prebend, his deanery or even his bishopric. We have an interesting survival of the state of things when the church decently eked out the scanty wages of the state in the fact that a large amount of ecclesiastical preferment is still in the hands of the modern lord chancellor, who in name, though not in reality, represents the chancellor prime-ministers of the middle ages. The "chancellor's livings," still coveted in some clerical circles, go back, I imagine, to the time when the chancellor was at the head of a corporation of clerical subordinates who saw that their easiest and most natural way of increasing their income was to obtain preferment to livings in the king's gift. While the king dispensed the larger patronage, it saved him trouble for the chancellor to scatter directly the small bones that were meaty enough to attract the hungry dogs kennelled in the inferior stalls of the Chancery. To this day "chancellor's livings" are mostly bad ones. As there are no longer clerical officials to receive them, they fall to ordinary non-official divines.

Besides ecclesiastical preferment, the worn-out civilian could look for pensions from the crown, transference to less laborious or nominal service, or, at the worst, to what was called a "corrody," that is authority to take up his quarters in some monastery and be fed, clothed, and lodged at the expense of the monks. These latter resources were

particularly welcome to laymen or to those clerics who had disqualified themselves for advancement in the church by matrimony. A still better refuge was a pension from the exchequer. But there was one drawback to the enjoyment of this most satisfactory of direct sources of support, a royal pension. It was that it was not always regularly paid. In those days the dependents on the state were always the first to suffer when war or some other exceptional cause of expenditure restricted the royal bounty, or when a careless or extravagant king neither wished nor could keep his plighted word. Lastly, we must not neglect among these supplementary sources of income the perquisites, lawful and unlawful, of office. Mediæval propriety was not outraged by public officers receiving gratifications in money or kind from all who came to transact business with them. It was natural that the receiver of a favour should pay a fee to the source of his satisfaction. The preparation of a writ was immensely expedited when a suitable *douceur* from the applicant quickened the activity of the chancery or privy seal clerk responsible for its issue. We find that religious houses regularly entered in their accounts the sums they had given to ministers to obtain their good will. On a much lower plane was the direct bribe to do something known to be wrong ; yet that also was by no means rare. Mediæval man used the discreet term “*curialitas*” (courtesy) to indicate transactions that varied between perfectly permissible presents and open and shameful corruption. And there were few public servants who did not take advantage of their position to do a good deal of business on their own account, such as administering or managing estates, lending money, acting as sureties, as attorneys or proxies, and the like.

Taking everything into account, the mediæval civilian’s prosperity was not to be reckoned merely in wages. Besides money payments, there were also wages in kind. In the old days, when the public servant was attached to the court, he had, as we have seen, no salary, or a very small one. But he made up for this by receiving lodging, clothing, food, drink and fire-wood at the king’s expense. He had, therefore, as little need of money as a soldier in the trenches or a monk in a convent. We have already noticed how the offices of state, one after the other, went “out of court,” some, like the exchequer, early, others, like the chancery and the office of the privy seal, at a much later date. The records of these last two depart-

ments show us that, when an office went "out of court," its head, in these cases the chancellor and the keeper of the privy seal, lived with his subordinates a sort of common life in what were called the household of the chancery and the household of the privy seal. The expenses of these were kept up by a block grant to the chancellor or keeper, and it was his business to provide his subordinates with adequate entertainment. We have glimpses of these semi-collegiate households of celibate government clerks, settled down in some central establishment in London, or wandering more uneasily about the country, according to the needs of the public service. They do not seem to have had a bad time; there was plenty of rough good fellowship and conviviality, and the humours of the civil servant in his leisure moments were not disturbed by any too exacting standard of reticence or decorum.¹ Yet these official households were never perhaps very satisfactory or very comfortable. Corporate life fitted in ill with the fierce individualism of a greedy bachelor fighting his way through the world. Mediæval colleges never had the amenities of a modern college, and even in colleges common rooms only came in with the seventeenth century, and the tavern, not the college, was the chief social centre.

As time went on, the common life of the mediæval civil servants began to break up. Their official chiefs were too dignified to live among them, and delegated the maintenance of the household of their subordinates to some senior clerk of the office. Many of the clerks grew tired of the monotony and lack of privacy involved in such a life. Some had money or preferment of their own; others were married and wished to live with their own families. It was perhaps because the exchequer had always a large lay staff that the common life of this oldest of public offices was always less intense than that of the purely clerical offices of the chancery and privy seal. But it was one of the many signs of the incoming of the modern spirit in the days of Edward III that the layman began to demand his share of posts

¹ The ideal of life of an unknown wardrobe clerk of the end of the reign of Edward I is written in the margin of a book of wardrobe accounts of that period, in the form of a parody of the beginning of the Athanasian Creed: "Quicumque vult salvus esse ad tabernam debet esse servare luxuriam". *Exch. Accts. K.R.* 364/13 f. 103 d. Such facetious marginalia occasionally brighten the path of the record searcher.

hitherto monopolized by the clergy. At first his ambition was concentrated on the great ministerial charges, the chancellorship and the treasurership, and here, as we have seen, he triumphed both in 1340 and in 1371. But the lay ministers still had special difficulties to face. The first lay chancellors were put by reason of their laity into a very awkward position. Still lawyers on the make, they had not the hereditary resources of a baronial or the official resources of an episcopal chancellor. As married men with households of their own, they could not be expected to leave their comfortable homes to be the resident heads of a celibate college of poor and pushing clergymen. As men of limited means, they could not treat their "households" so generously as their episcopal predecessors. An attempt was made to meet their cases by increasing the public allowance made to them for the support of themselves and the "household of the chancery"; but the extra expense involved did much to promote the reaction which soon brought back well-endowed bishops to the chief office of the state. Meanwhile their difficulties were increased by the difference of profession, outlook, and life between the lay chancellor and his clerical staff. The latter "knew the ropes" better than their chief. They were not only more useful; they were cheaper to the state. Small wonder then that economy and efficiency triumphed over theories of equal opportunity. The lay chancery clerk only came in with the Tudors, and by that time the chancellor's mediæval glory as prime minister had passed away, and the chancery was heading straight towards its modern declension into a court of equity.

The chancery did not stand alone. The year 1371, which saw a lay chancellor appointed because he was a layman, also saw the first lay keeper of the privy seal. But the office of the privy seal, like the chancery itself, remained a clerical preserve, though, unlike the chancery, its importance shrivelled up so much that the status of its staff ceases to be a question of much importance. Despite all this, the lay civil servant had got himself established before the fourteenth century was over. Education had ceased to be a clerical monopoly, and if the laymen were still outside the universities, the London law schools enabled the lay common lawyer to receive an education quite as complete as that afforded by the academic schools, and much more practical as well. Moreover, cultivated laymen such as Geoffrey Chaucer, himself a civil servant, and John Gower, showed that a complete intellectual equipment

could be obtained outside either universities or professional schools. Yet for the wholesale importation of the lay element into the civil service we have to turn once more from the decadent mediæval departments to that fountain of all honour and place, the king's court, from which in the transition between the mediæval and modern periods new administrative organizations were to arise out of which sprang the modern offices of state.

One question still remains. How did the mediæval civil servant do his work? How far was he efficient, and, if he were remiss, how far could the peccant official be controlled or punished? On the whole I am inclined to think that a respectably high level of general competence was attained. Our best evidence for this is that afforded by the wonderfully complete and well-kept series of our mediæval archives still surviving in the public record office. The mediæval public servant had plenty of disadvantages as compared with his modern successor. All the devices by which book-keeping, letter-writing, account-keeping and the like are made easy were unknown to him. His works of reference were unpractical rolls that had to be unrolled in all their length before he could verify a single entry. His material for writing on was parchment so expensive that abbreviation of his matter was necessary and to waste a slip something of an offence. The exchequer clerk had to keep books and do sums of extraordinary complexity. The very addition of roman numerals was painful enough in itself. It was made more laborious by reckonings by scores and by hundreds, by sums, calculated indifferently in marks and in pounds, shillings and pence, being all mixed up together in the same columns of figures. Yet you will very rarely find mistakes in arithmetic even in the most complicated of accounts; and if you take the trouble, which some of our modern historians have not done, to understand the accountant's system before you make use of his figures, you will not often catch him committing many serious errors. No one can turn over mediæval official records without admiration for the neatness of the caligraphy, the immense pains taken to facilitate reference and eliminate blunders, the careful correction of erroneous entries, and the other innumerable evidences of good honest workmanship on the part of the ordinary rank and file of official scribes. It is the same with the innumerable writs and letters, all neatly drafted in common form, and duly authenticated by the appropriate seals and the signatures of the responsible clerks.

The system of enrolment of the accounts passed and the letters written in every office leaves nothing to be desired in completeness and precision. Anyhow, the mediæval official took plenty of pains to discharge his daily task, and his labour was all the more praiseworthy since mediæval casualness and mediæval indifference to labour-saving contrivances exacted the maximum of effort and trouble in every case. Similarly, if we turn to the collections of examples, precedents and forms, which were from time to time written for the guidance of the various offices, we strengthen our impression of sound business traditions, laboriously developed and meticulously maintained. A reforming bureaucracy too is generally an efficient bureaucracy, and a long series of reforming edicts, inspired by the chiefs of various departments, bears high testimony to the useful activity of the fourteenth century civil service. Thus the last years of the dreary reign of Edward II witnessed an immense amount of administrative reform, notably the reform of the exchequer by the treasurer Stapeldon. Yet, despite all this, constant control and watchfulness were needed to keep clean the administrative machine and there was no control so effective as the personal oversight of the sovereign. In the monarch's absence the executive always tended to get out of gear. But the return of Edward I in 1289 after his three years' sojourn on the Continent, the return of Edward III in 1340 after his long preoccupation with war and diplomacy in the Low Countries, were immediately followed by the two greatest sweepings out of the Augean stables of administrative incompetence that mediæval history witnessed.

Up to this point I have striven to put my rather desultory observations on the mediæval civil service in as general a form as possible. If I have occasionally mentioned a name, it is from the well-known personalities of political history that I have chosen them, and that simply with the view of illustrating the wide career to official talent in the service of the fourteenth century English crown whose officers rose not seldom to the highest posts of both state and church, to the chancery and the treasury, to bishoprics by the score, to archbishoprics in fairly numerous instances. But my chief concern is not with the exceptional man so much as with the ordinary person, partly because the personal element in history is in my opinion still somewhat overstressed, and partly because in the weary studies of the innumerable rolls and records from which I have derived the impressions here set forth, I

have perforce had my attention devoted to the system rather than the individual, and so far as to the individual, to the obscure and unknown individual rather than to a few shining and conspicuous exceptions to the general rule of obscurity. It is the calibre and discipline of the rank and file, the competence of the subalterns and subordinate commanders that makes the difference between a heriote mob and a well-ordered military force. So it is not the occasional brilliant exception so much as the competence of the average official that makes a bureaucracy a success or a failure. Leaders of course there must be ; but leaders can look after themselves. If they do not arise spontaneously, there is anyhow no patent method, then or now, for creating the rare and divine gifts of inspiration and leadership. But a good system can make the average man competent to do his job. And this can, I think, be said to have been done by our mediæval civil service despite all its shortcomings.

The hardest problem in dealing with mediæval records is to disentangle the human element from the dull forms, and to tell what manner of men they were whose official acts and external history we know in such elaborate detail. It needs a good deal of historical imagination to vitalize the writs and rolls of a mediæval office. Besides what we can do in that way, we must not neglect our occasional chance to realize the individual character of the mediæval official. Accordingly I will now seek to illustrate what I have said from the careers of three civil servants of the fourteenth century, of whom we know by accident more than is the case with the majority. The first is a local instance of a successful, almost a brilliant, career of a typical civil servant who hailed from Lancashire, and whose fame is not perhaps quite commensurate with his deserts. Anyhow, his name, John Winwick, will excite little response even in historical minds. My other two examples are those of better known men, for they are two men of letters, one of whom was the most famous Englishman of his day, and the other, though of obscurer and more doubtful reputation, was at least a faithful disciple of his distinguished compeer, and is in no wise unknown to those who are interested in fourteenth and fifteenth century by-ways. I chose those two frankly because their writings have given them an established position ; but I also chose them because both were examples of official careers run by men whose personality is better revealed to us than is the case of most of their comrades. The former is an instance of a varied and successful lay

career in the civil service, and the latter is the case of a discontented and dispirited government clerk who never got beyond the drudgery of a second rate office, but who beguiled his leisure with long-winded and dull poems, which, if an offence to the artist, are to the historian of the mediæval civil service an absolutely unique field. My great name is of course that of Geoffrey Chaucer : my minor celebrity is the poet Thomas Hoccleve. Let us take these three men one by one.

John Winwick came not, as his name might suggest to the unwary, from Winwick, between Warrington and Wigan, but from the parish of Huyton, near Liverpool, where his father seems to have belonged to that numerous class of smaller landed gentry, poor in resources, strong in pride of race, and simpler and rougher in life and manners than a modern small farmer, a class which always furnished mediæval England with a large share of the men who rose to high posts in both church and state. John entered the royal service as a king's clerk and had the usual reward of a king's clerk in livings, pensions and grants. Among his ecclesiastical preferments the rich rectory of Wigan in his own district was one of the most important. It is not likely that Wigan saw much of him, though he was brought into its neighbourhood by the fact that he increased his otherwise ample resources by farming out in his non-official moments the administration of the estates of several rich Lancashire landowning families, including the Butlers of Warrington and the Hoghtons of Hoghton. Winwick's zeal for his kinsfolk comes out characteristically when his father, arraigned on a charge of homicide—a small matter to the mediæval mind—was, though acquitted of the charge, adjudged to have forfeited his chattels for some contempt of court. They were, however, restored in consideration of the long service which his son John had rendered to the king, especially in his expeditions abroad. Appointed a clerk of the privy seal, John Winwick became head of that office as keeper of the privy seal from 1355 to 1360 at a time when the keeper of the privy seal ranked next after chancellor and treasurer among the king's ministers. Dying in 1363, he left lands and estates to found a college at Oxford for students of civil and canon law, "desiring to enrich the English church with men of letters". Though his foundation received royal confirmation, the greediness of his heirs prevented the establishment of a Lancashire college in Oxford for clerks studying academic law, such as the would-be founder seems

to have contemplated. Altogether Winwick's was a prosperous, successful, public-spirited though not particularly startling career of a good official who thrived in all his undertakings and made the best of his chances in both worlds. You will note in particular how, all through his career, he remained in the same office, and had his reward by getting to the head of it. It was no disparagement to his integrity, that, like early civil servants of the East India Company, he traded on his own account as well as doing his work as a public servant. His service to the church, I imagine, came in as a bad third.

Geoffrey Chaucer is one of the greatest names in English literature, but I have no concern here with the man of genius. I am only interested in the way in which the public service of Edward III opened up a safe way for the great poet to earn his living in an age when literature was no profession because there was no printing, no copyright, and therefore no literary profits. This aspect of his career is the easier to follow since enthusiasts for Chaucer the poet have meticulously collected the scattered references to Chaucer the civil servant. With their help we can easily reconstruct his official career in its various stages. We begin with his early service in the household of the king's son—Lionel, Duke of Clarence—culminating in a campaign in France and a short term of captivity as a prisoner of war. Next comes his transference to the king's household and his long years of labour there as king's yeoman or valet, and later in the higher rank of the king's esquire. Besides his daily work at court, he was sent on those embassies which gave him increased knowledge of the literature of France, whose "culture" he absorbed none the less because he was often engaged in killing Frenchmen. Other missions to Italy perhaps brought him into personal relations with the masters of Tuscan verse, whose influence is so strong in his more matured work. Later on came marriage and his transference from household to public service, his controllership of the customs and subsidies of London, and his dwelling-house over Aldgate, handy for the shipping quarters on Thames side below London Bridge. Subsequently he was moved to other employments, such as the clerkship of works, that with some significant breaks marked his career until his death in 1400. We must not imagine that Chaucer owed these posts to his literary fame. It is more likely that he was promoted from one good job to another by reason of his subterranean connexions with the royal family, and notably through that close tie with John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, which perhaps made him

a sort of left-handed brother-in-law of the most active of the king's sons, and involved him also in the obscuration of his fortunes whenever the star of Lancaster sank low, and also secured the final rays of success that gilded the declining months of his life when the son of John of Gaunt became Henry IV. We must not, also, regard Chaucer's official labours as nominal. We have his own word for his absorption in business, and we know from his appointment as controller of the customs at London that the rolls of his office were to be written with his own hand, that he was to be "continually present," and to discharge personally all the duties of his office. But despite the words of the patent, he may have managed in the good mediæval fashion to have shifted the burden from his own to other less famous hands.

We may thank the leisurely methods of mediæval public service that they left Chaucer the civil servant the leisure to become Chaucer the poet, and we may in passing heave a sigh over the modern strenuousness of official life that bids fair in the next generation to make impossible the continued career of literature and state service of which we have had so many shining examples from the days of Chaucer to those of Lamb, the two Mills, and Matthew Arnold, not to quote some distinguished contemporary instances. It is more to our purpose to stress the career open to this London tradesman's son in the administration of Edward III and his grandson. The opportunity to men of the middle classes, instanced by the official record of Chaucer at court and in the public service, affords some lessons of social equality even to twentieth-century democracy.

Thomas Hoccleve was a friend and in a humble fashion a poetic follower of Chaucer, but while the broad sweep of the great poet's vision disregarded personal reminiscence and anecdotic triviality, the lowly muse of Hoccleve found its most congenial inspiration in the details of his private and official life. In all the great gallery of the Canterbury Pilgrims there was no public servant whose adventures and personality Chaucer deigned to sketch. On a different plane to his master as an artist, Hoccleve is immensely more useful to the historian of administration by reason of his habit of talking about himself. Professionally Hoccleve was, like John Winwick, a clerk of the privy seal. Though both began in the same way Hoccleve ended just where he began. In his official career he found no promotion, though he laboured at his desk for more than thirty years. He was equally unsuccessful in

his quest of a benefice, and at last cut himself off from all ecclesiastical preferment by an imprudent marriage, after which he was perforce transferred from his comfortable quarters in the household of the privy seal to a "humble cot" from which the only chance of escape was a debtor's prison. When at last his importunity won him a modest crown pension, he could never get it paid; and his unceasing clamour for instalments of his annuity is a constant theme of his pedestrian muse. On his own showing Hoccleve was a poor creature, slack, cowardly, weak of will, mean-spirited, a professional begging letter-writer, a haunter of taverns, cook-shops and houses of ill-fame. Extravagant in good fortune, depressed and lachrymose when ill-health, poverty, and ill-fortune dogged his declining years, Hoccleve was throughout a dissipated, drunken, disreputable fellow, whose mean vices might well have brought him under the ban of the austere criminal law of modern civilization. Yet we must not take too literally all that he says against himself. Anyhow there is a touch of humanity about him that makes it hard not to think of him with some sympathy, if not also with sneaking kindness. Above all we owe him our hearty gratitude for giving us material for studying the humbler mediæval civil servant at his job. For the rest we can laboriously make a skeleton of the facts and dates of their careers. A sort of mediæval "Who's Who in the Public Service" would not be an impossible task. I have myself made such a list of the clerks of the privy seal, and my old pupil, Miss L. B. Dibben, has nearly completed the much harder task of a classified list of the clerks of the Chancery. Perhaps when peace again allows austere books to be published our catalogues may see the light of day. But the material makes nothing more possible than the barest catalogue of dates, preferments, offices, and other dry details. Hoccleve's verse alone shows us the mediæval official groaning over his weary task, and exciting at once our compassion and our derision.

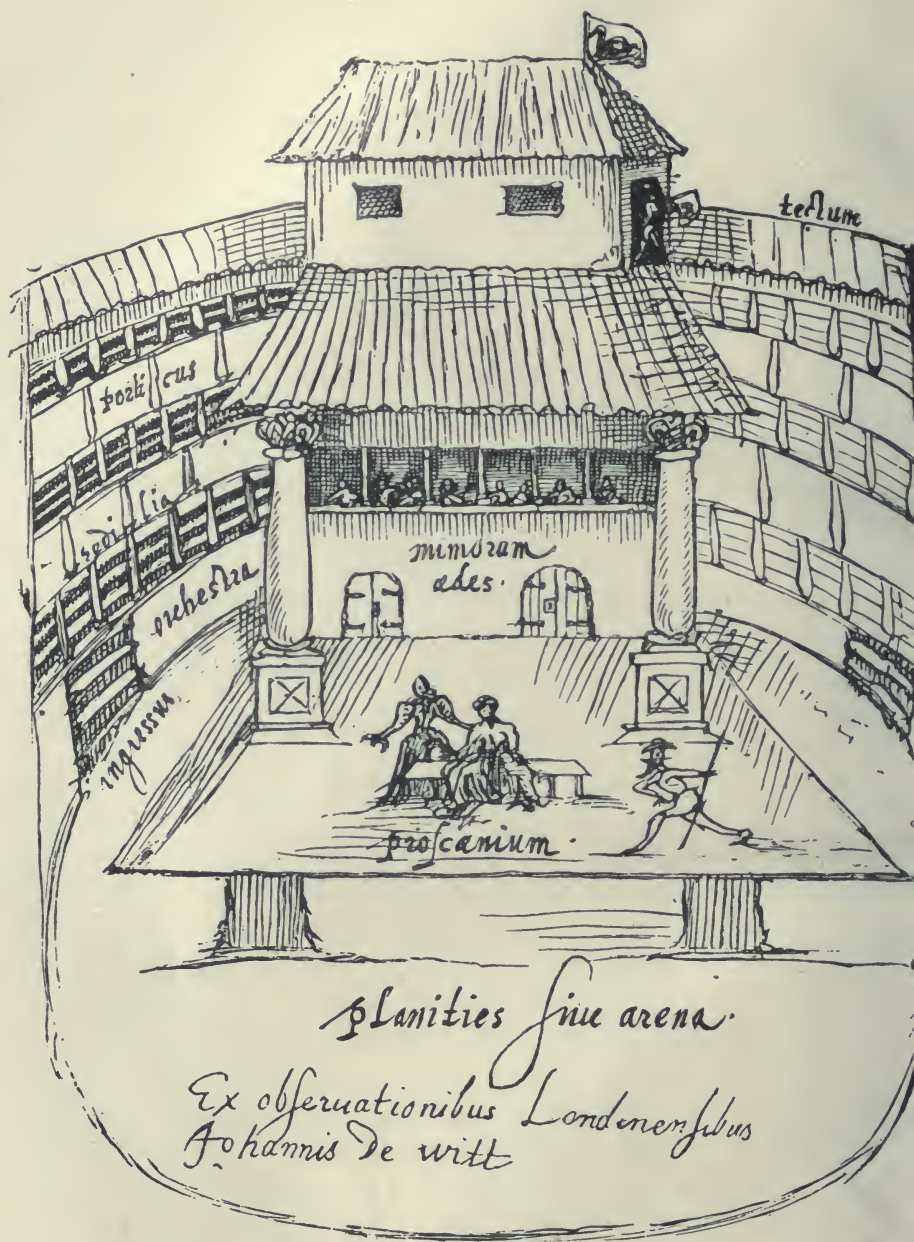
Hoccleve is at pains to tell us the hardships of the public clerk's life. Many men think, says he, that writing is not hard work, but a game. But the clerk's task is much more difficult than it seems. Those who have had no personal experience of it are no more qualified to pass judgment on it than is a blind man equipped to distinguish between colours. A scribe must work at the same time with mind, eye, and hand. If any one of these three fail, he has to do everything all over again. When bending over his work the poor writer can

neither talk to his friends, nor sing a song, nor play, nor jest. The craftsman, who can sing, talk, and play over his business, labours with gladness, but the clerk, stooping and staring on his sheepskins, must work in gloomy silence. From years of such odious toils come pains in the stomach, back, and eyes. After twenty-three years of such work Hoccleve's whole body was smarting with aches and pains and his eyesight was utterly ruined.

Yet even Hoccleve's tearful muse shows that there were brighter sides to the life of the privy seal clerk. There were the perquisites of his post, the modest gratuities that custom required from the man who went to the office to procure a letter of privy seal for his master or himself. There was too the comradeship and the merry common life with brother clerks and other boon companions. There was the Paul's Head Tavern, on the south side of the great cathedral, and the numerous and genial hostelries of Westminster, hard by the place where his working days were spent. There was no austere discipline preventing the festive clerk from sleeping off his overnight debauch and reproving him if he turned up late next morning at the office. When an instalment of the long-deferred pay or pension came to hand, the clerk with money in his purse could hire a boat from his lodging in the Strand, and be rowed up the river Thames to his desk at Westminster, where, office hours over, he could regale his friends with meat and drink. He might be a member, like Hoccleve, of a dining club, called the "court of good company," which included so great a personage as the Chancellor of the Exchequer—a civil servant not a politician in those days, but already a personage wealthy enough to entertain the whole staff to a May day banquet of sumptuous fare at the Temple. Nor was the office inconsiderate when serious trouble beset the underling. When poor Hoccleve was temporarily driven out of his wits, his annuity was regularly paid during his enforced absence from his work. When he came back cured, his fellow-clerks gave him a rousing welcome; his superiors allowed him to resume his work, and the whole staff united in maintaining his competence and sanity before a suspicious world. When further troubles finally drove Hoccleve from his desk, the long-coveted corrody enabled him to spend his declining years in peace, so that, freed from his irksome labours, the old poet went on writing his painful verses for many years more.

With all his faults, Hoccleve's life was not spent in idleness.

Hundreds of writs of privy seal, drafted and signed by him, testify to his skill and method in official routine. Yet out of office hours he found time, not only for writing his voluminous poems but for the severe study of the literary models of which his poems were but too often the echo. He was well acquainted with three languages, Latin, French, and English, as every mediæval public servant had to be. He was versed not only in the *belles lettres* but in some of the more serious literature of his age. He was emphatically free from the reproach of neglecting his daily task for his personal pursuits, sometimes urged by anxious heads of departments against the modern literary official. A large and solid manuscript volume, still surviving in the British Museum, testifies eloquently to Hoccleve's official zeal. It is a sort of handbook for the tiro entering upon the career of a clerk of the privy seal. In it are set down in businesslike and orderly fashion the "common forms," the typical examples of every manner of document or writ emanating from the privy seal office. I do not claim Hoccleve as a model. I have not extenuated his many shortcomings. Yet looking at his career from our administrative standpoint, rather than from the literary point of view of those few who have previously taken the trouble to think or write about him, I cannot but record the impression that the business methods of this mediæval official were not much worse than those of more recent and more self-complacent days. Sordid and self-seeking as is much of mediæval official life, as it is revealed to us, we must not think that it necessarily excluded the higher ideals which, as we know, many men and women of those days cherished. Among the court officials of the corruptest court of the period, the court of Edward II, there worked for years that William Melton, afterwards archbishop of York, whose name is famous for his sanctity and high purpose, and of whom it was said that his long sojourn among the courtiers checked neither his piety nor his charity. Even apart from exceptions such as these, we have every reason to believe that even a modern government department might learn something from the wide knowledge, long service, corporate feeling, kindly indulgence, and sufficient devotion to the task in hand that are illustrated by the self-revelations of this obscure and unlucky public servant of the English state who died nearly five hundred years ago. Perhaps if we had lived in those days, and had the requisite influence, we might, as thrifty parents, decide then as now that the public service was a good enough career for our boys.



THE SWAN THEATRE.

SOME NOTES ON SHAKESPEARE'S STAGE AND PLAYS.

BY WILLIAM POEL,

FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR OF THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE SOCIETY.

*A wooden dagger is a dagger of wood,
Nor gold nor ivory haft can make it good . . .
Or to make boards to speak ! There is a task !
Painting and carpentry are the soul of masque.
Pack with your peddling poetry to the stage,
This is the money-got mechanic age !*

BEN JONSON.

THE Elizabethan drama was written for the Elizabethan stage. When the Elizabethan stage disappeared it became no longer possible to produce Elizabethan drama, for the dramatic construction of plays of that period was to a great extent dependent upon the form of the theatre, which had very special features. The first playhouse was built in 1576, and the last of its kind had disappeared before the Great Fire of 1666, and it had ceased to be used as a playhouse from the early days of the Civil War. Thus the Elizabethan playhouse was in use for a period of a little over fifty years, and had a unique existence in the history of the stage. Original in design, it was unlike any other building of the kind built before or after, so much so that it excited the notice of foreigners visiting this country as something quite unknown out of England. The peculiarities of its construction were due to the fact that English drama sprang from the entertainments of the people, and not from those of the Court, taking its form uninfluenced by the plays of Greece or Rome. It was shaped by the popular entertainments known as Mysteries, Moralities, Interludes, Bear-baitings, Wit-combats, Sword-combats, Street Pageants and Shows, all of which nourished the dramatic tastes of the people in a direction peculiarly its own. As a consequence, there existed nothing in the construction of the Elizabethan playhouse

suggestive of the Greek or Roman stage ; it embodied the varied conditions under which the public exhibitions of the day were given.

For centuries the people had been accustomed to dramatic entertainments illustrating incidents from Scripture history and legends of the Church. These were performed without break or pause in the action from beginning to end, while at the same time they were devoid of plot and dramatic sequence ; yet this very failing gave the construction of Elizabethan drama its special character which, with one or two notable exceptions, was never characterized by skill in the development of the story. On the other hand, the popular support of amusements which were merely a series of loosely connected incidents encouraged poet-dramatists to adopt a liberty in treatment and variety of subject altogether forbidden in classical drama.

The ascendancy of the native drama determined those playwrights who, while scholars, were yet men of the world, and deeply imbued with the spirit of the nation and of the age, to abandon a classical form of play and model their work upon that which public taste demanded. These brought their classical learning to bear upon the popular plays, and, while retaining the freedom of treatment allowed in them, aimed at greater coherency and stronger characterization. Yet Elizabethan drama would still have remained indistinctive but for the genius of Marlowe, who, seeing the possibilities that were presented in the people's drama, transfigured and recreated its form of expression so that it became a means of inspiration for future poets. And among others to Shakespeare, who gave unity of design and a continuity of interest that was planned on a philosophical basis, thus securing for Elizabethan drama a fame as great as that achieved by the Greek-dramatists.

Naturally, there were scholars of the day who still preferred the classical imitations represented at Court to the popular play, upon which they were apt to look with contempt, as "neither right tragedies, nor right comedies" ; and undoubtedly among these must be numbered Ben Jonson, for, while tolerating the irregularities of native drama, he aimed at restoring it to classical order, and was able to some extent to re-establish in his own comedies the Latin form.

With the Restoration and the re-opening of the theatre there was no longer any national dramatic taste ; and the theatre, as an amusement, was supported mainly by Town and Fashion, influenced

by the Court. As a consequence, the Elizabethan playhouse was replaced by the proscenium, act-drop, and scene-cloth which had been introduced at Court by Inigo Jones during the reign of Charles I. From this period onward the stage has continued to represent plays more or less written on a classical model, and divided into acts and scenes. But in the new form of theatre it was impossible to give a proper representation of Elizabethan drama.

To understand the principle upon which the first Elizabethan playhouse was constructed it is necessary to remember what were the conditions under which dramatic and other entertainments were previously given, and to realize that it was English custom and tradition alone which guided the Elizabethan actors in designing its structure.

The most notable feature of the Elizabethan playhouse was undoubtedly the platform which was built out into the middle of the auditorium, having a space on three sides of it to accommodate the spectators. By the uninitiated it will not be readily conceived how absolutely the construction of Elizabethan drama depended upon this particular feature, and it is therefore of some interest to inquire from whence the actors derived the idea of thus bringing out the platform into the middle of the auditorium. There is no doubt that this was taken from the mediæval custom of presenting plays on a platform in the centre of the market-square, or other open space, so that the performance could be seen from all sides; and it is evident that in the innyards, where plays were given before the first playhouse was built, the stage, though not actually in the centre of the yard, was built out from one of the walls, and open to the spectators from three sides. It is easy, then, to understand that, in building their first playhouse, the actors were only following the usage familiar to the people.

Perhaps the next most noticeable feature in the Elizabethan playhouse was the position of the pillars carrying the roof, or "heaven" as it was called. This possibly answered the same purpose as the sounding-board over a cathedral pulpit. Between the two pillars in front, the form of which differs in no way from that of those which supported the balcony in the innyard, ran the traverse, or small curtain, which was used occasionally to shut the rear part of the stage from view. And in the innyard originated the custom of using a balcony

for the characters to speak from, when they were supposed to be addressing the audience from "above".

The two doors at the back of the stage, which also had important influence on the dramatic construction of Elizabethan drama, were obviously suggested by the conditions of acting in the banqueting halls of noblemen's mansions, at the one end of which was usually a gallery with two doors beneath. All those who are familiar with the dining halls of Gray's Inn or the Middle Temple, where Shakespeare's plays were acted, will understand.

It only remains now to account for the circular form of the first playhouse, and this was made round in imitation of the bear-baiting "rings" that existed on the Bankside. In the "Theatre" there were three tiers of galleries instead of one.

The history of the building of the first playhouse, which was constructed by the father of the great actor, Richard Burbage, is one specially interesting to the Shakespearian student, from the fact that the building materials, removed from the original site at Shoreditch to the Surrey side of the river, were re-erected in the same circular shape within a few yards of the still existing cathedral Church of St. Saviour. This playhouse became known as the famous "Globe". It was destroyed by fire in 1613. The only known representation of it in existence is the round building shown in Hollar's view of London, 1610.

For details of the "Globe" playhouse we have to turn to another theatre called the "Fortune". Although probably larger in dimensions than the "Globe," and square instead of round, it had many features in common with its more famous rival. The contract for the "Fortune" stipulates for the erection of a building of four equal external sides of 80 feet reduced by necessary arrangements to an internal area of 55 feet square. The length of the stage from side to side was to be 43 feet, and in depth it was to extend over half the space of the internal area. Three tiers of galleries occupied three sides of the house; the height of the first from the ground is not named; the second is stated as being 12 feet above the lower tier; the third 11 feet from the second, and the height above the third 9 feet. There were four "convenient rooms," or what are now called boxes, for the accommodation of musicians, and the



HOLLAR'S VIEW OF LONDON, 1610.

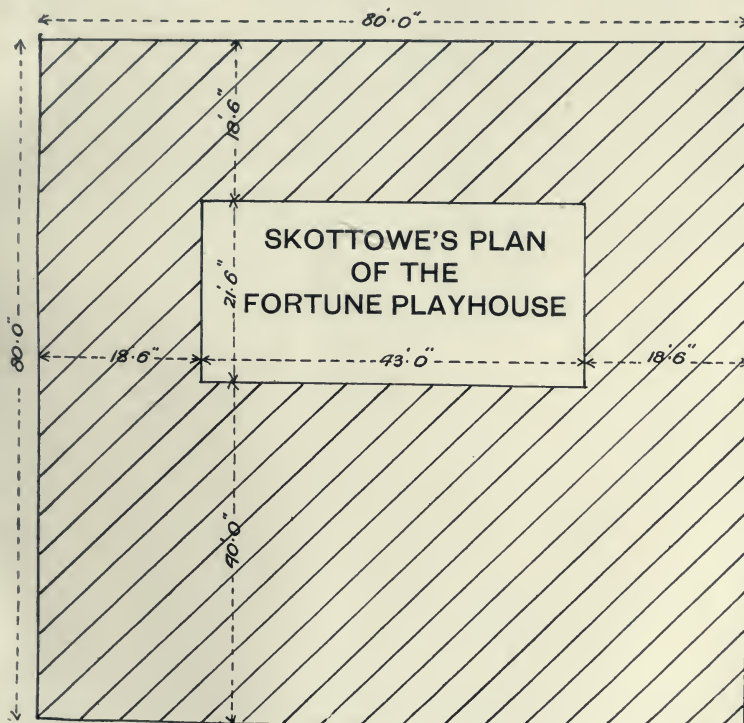
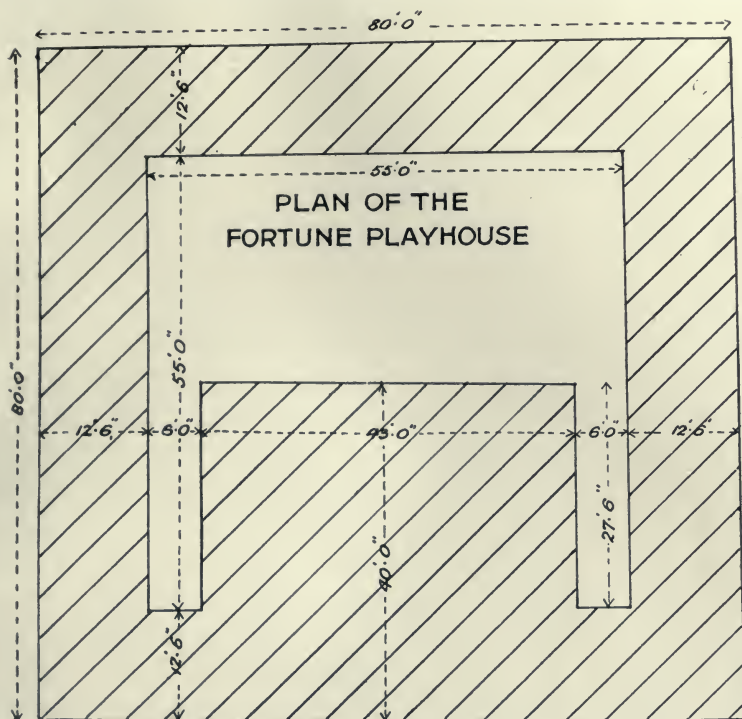
well-to-do citizens, partitioned off from the lower gallery, with rooms of similar dimensions for distinguished visitors in the upper galleries. The depth of the lower galleries measured $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the back to the front, and the upper stories had an additional projection of 10 inches. The space between the external wall of the playhouse and the front of the galleries was completely roofed in with tiles (the "Globe" had a thatch roof) as was also that part of the stage occupied by the actors, and known as the "tyring house," meaning the house of attire, whilst the open area, or pit, was exposed to the air. The foundation of the building was brick and projected a foot above the ground; the rest was constructed of timber, filled in with lath and plaster. The "tyring house" had glazed windows, and the cost of this building including the tiles, the seats, and everything except the painting, of which probably there was not much, was estimated at £440, a sum equivalent in modern money to about £2500.

This builder's contract for erecting the "Fortune" playhouse has existed at Dulwich Library since the death of Edward Alleyn, the principal owner of the property, and it is curious that only one attempt has been made in modern times to reconstruct on paper the form of a building which so little resembled the modern theatre. The effort was not a very successful one. In 1824 a Mr. Skottowe wrote a life of Shakespeare in which appeared a plan of the "Fortune," and referring to Alleyn's contract he writes: "I do not profess to understand it, it is in fact inconsistent with itself. A square of 80 feet, everywhere reduced on each side by galleries of $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet in depth, would certainly leave a square area of 55 feet. But as the stage would necessarily occupy one side of the square, and the depth of the stage was to extend exactly to the centre, that is to say, to take up half of the remaining area, nothing like the area spoken of could be left open. Again, the length of the stage is expressly defined, 43 feet, which leaves it 6 feet too short at each side to form a junction with the ends of the galleries next the stage. I have no doubt, therefore," continues Mr. Skottowe, "of an error in the document, which I take to be the omission to calculate the space occupied by the passages and staircases. A passage of 6 feet wide behind the galleries added to this width would make a reduction of $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet from each side of the theatre, and leave a space between the front of one gallery to the front of the other of 43 feet, which is the exact width

assigned to the platform." Here, then, it is obvious that Mr. Skottowe failed to realize that in Shakespeare's time the actors performed at the public theatres on an open platform that projected as far as the middle of the pit.

It is evident, also, that on this open platform there was no means of erecting any scenery, otherwise the audience seated in the galleries nearest to the stage would have had its view of the actors obstructed ; nor in Shakespeare's plays is there a hint in the stage directions that there must be any change made in the mechanical arrangement of the stage to indicate the "place where". "What child is there," asks Sir Philip Sidney in his "Apology of Poetry" written about 1583, "that, coming to a play, and seeing 'Thebes' written in great letters on an old door, doth believe that it is Thebes?" Apparently, then, the name of the country, where the action of the play took place, was posted upon some door—perhaps the entrance door to the theatre ;—the bill of the play, with its title and author's name, was certainly so posted. "It is as dangerous to read his name at a play door as a printed bill on a plague door." These words appear in Marston's play, "Histriomastic" (1598). When, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, Davenant produced his "Siege of Rhodes," and for the first time a painted scene was used upon the stage, a label bearing the name of "Rhodes" was painted on the frieze. The elder Hieronimo, in the play within the play of "The Spanish Tragedy," directs the title to be hung up, and announces : "Our scene is Rhodes". But often the bill, posted upon the outer door, within the theatre, was not hung up about the stage but carried by the *Prologue*, or one of the players would come forward with it before the play began. In Brome's "City Wit" Sarpego—who delivers the prologue—speaking of the play, says : "I that bear its title".

Acting in this country began about the twelfth century when vagrants, who amused the villagers with their tumbling feats, were paid to assist the trade guilds in the presentation of their religious plays, impersonating the imps and devils who were expected to be very nimble in their movements. In course of time the actors of interludes and moral plays became attached to some nobleman who maintained a musical establishment for the service of his chapel ; they then formed



part of his household. When not required by their master these players strolled the country, calling themselves servants of the magnate whose pay they took, and whose badge they wore. Thus Burbage's company first became known as "Lord Leicester's Servants," then as "Lord Strange's Men," afterwards as the "Lord Chamberlain's Men," and finally in the reign of King James as "The King's Servants". It is certain, however, that acting reached a high standard in the days of Burbage and Alleyn. The absence of theatrical machinery necessitated that dramatic poets should excel in their descriptive passages, and the actors' ability to impersonate stimulated literary genius to the creation of characters which the author knew beforehand would be finely and intelligently rendered. On all sides, the more we study its conditions, the better we perceive how workmanlike and businesslike a thing the drama was; it had nothing amateurish about it. For instance, we read how Elizabethan "old stagers" discussed a raw hand.

Burbage. Now, Will Kemp, if we can entertain these scholars at a low rate, it will be well; they have oftentime a good conceit in a part.

Kemp. It is true indeed, honest Dick; but the slaves are somewhat proud, and, besides, it is great sport in a part to see them ne'er speak in their walk, but at the end of the stage; just as though, in walking with a fellow, we should never speak but at a stile, a gate, or a ditch, where a man can go no farther. I was once at a comedy at Cambridge, and there I saw a parasite make faces and mouths of all sorts in this fashion.

Burbage. A little teaching will mend these faults.

The wardrobe of the playhouse formed indisputably its most costly possession, for attention was so concentrated upon the actors in their parts that they had to be richly as well as appropriately attired; cloth of gold and of silver, and copper lace, were lavishly used. Thus we read:—

"Two hundred proud players jet in their silks." And, when not in their parts, the King's servants were allowed four yards of bastard scarlet for a cloak, and a quarter of a yard of velvet for the cape; the attendants of the stage wearing the blue coats of serving-

men ; the coat of the boys, whose duty it was to draw the curtains, set chairs and so forth, surviving with little modification in the dress of Christ's Hospital—the Bluecoat School. All bore the badge of their master in silver. From these, and from the audience, the actors in the costume of their parts stood out by glitter and magnificence, while spectacular effects were sometimes obtained by the display of a crowd of actors in brilliant costumes. Collier mentions that persons from twelve nations, owning the sway of the conqueror, came upon the stage, each being represented by two actors. Thus four and twenty persons seem to be required to represent the conquered nations, besides the characters in the play, also necessarily present. Crowds, too, with varying outcries, were introduced ; thus in an old stage direction we read : *Enter all the factions of noblemen, peasants, and citizens fighting. The ruder sort drive in the rest, and cry: "A sacke ! A sacke ! Havocke, havocke ! Burne the lawiers bookes ! Tear the silks out of the shops !" In that confusion, the scholler escaping from among them, they all go out, and leave him upon the stage.*

Music there was, at all the houses, for incidental use in the play—the orchestra comprising viols, hautboys, flutes, horns, drums, and trumpets ; but evidently musical interludes breaking up the play were beneath the dignity of the "Globe," which maintained a high dramatic tone. Thus, Webster, in his induction to the "Malcontent" which he wrote on the transference of that play from the "Fortune" to the "Globe" in 1604, gives the following dialogue :—

W. Sly. What are your additions ?

D. Burbage. Sooth, not greatly needful ; only as your sallet to your great feast, to entertain a little more time, and to abridge the not received custom of music in our theatre.

However, the boys of the Chapel Royal, in their scarlet, sang at the representations at the Blackfriars' playhouse where a concert usually preceded the play.

The wealthy and fashionable spectators who went to the theatres to see and to be seen, sat on three-legged stools upon the stage. The tireman served out the stools, which were part of the furniture of the playhouse. Such gallants as were "spread upon the rushes" had

probably arrived after the supply of stools was exhausted, for it seems to have been first come first served throughout the house.

It was amid such surroundings as these that the Elizabethan drama arose and flourished. Attention was concentrated on the actor with whose movement, boldly defined against a simple background, nothing interfered. The stage on which they played was narrow, projecting into the yard, surrounded on all sides by spectators. Their action was thus brought into prominent relief, placed close before the eye, deprived of all perspective ; it acquired a special kind of realism, which the vast distance and manifold artifices of our modern theatres have now rendered unattainable. This was the realism of an actual event, at which the audience assisted, not the realism of a scene to which the audience is transported by the painter's skill, and in which the actor plays a somewhat subordinate part.

Here was a building so constructed that the remotest spectator was within a hearing distance conveying the faintest modulation of the performer's voice, and at the same time no inartistic effort was needed in the more sonorous utterances.

And the dramatist's freedom with time and place was justified by conditions which left all to the imagination. The mind in this way can contemplate the farthest Ind as easily as the most familiar objects, nor in following the course of an action need it dread to traverse the longest tract of years any more than the widest expanse.

There can be no doubt that Shakespeare, in the composition of his plays, could not have contemplated the introduction of scenic accessories. It is fortunate this should have been one of the conditions of his work. He could the more readily use his rare gifts both as poet and dramatist. He knew that the attention of his public would not be distracted by outward decoration which he must have felt was of no real help to the playwright except to conceal a poverty of language or of invention, or want of ability to create character. Shakespeare's plea for the exercise of the spectator's imagination, as expressed in the opening chorus to " Henry V," condemns in principle the most perfect modern scenic representation. This is an opinion which is supported by many writers and among them the following :—

" It is a noble and just advantage that the things subjected to

understanding have of those which are objected to sense ; that the one are but momentary and merely taking ; the other impressing and lasting : else the glory of all these solemnities¹ had perished like a blaze, and gone out in the beholders' eyes, so short-lived are the bodies of things in comparison of their souls."—BEN JONSON.

"Now for the difference between our Theatres and those of former times ; they were but plain and simple, with no other scenes nor decorations of the stage, but only old Tapestry, and the stage strewn with Rushes, whereas ours for cost and ornament are arrived at the height of Magnificence, but that which makes our stage the better, makes our Playes the worse, perhaps through striving now to make them the more for sight than hearing, whence that solid joy of the interior is lost, and that benefit which men formerly received from Playes, from which they seldom or never went away but far better and wiser than when they came."—RICHARD FLECKNOE, "Discourse of English Stage," 1660.

"Shakespeare's plays are said to afford a curious proof how needless are scenic decorations. We are asked what plays could more need the whole art of the decorator than those, with their constant interruptions and change of scene ; yet there was a time when the stages on which they were performed consisted of nothing but a curtain of poor coarse stuff, which, when it was drawn up, showed either the walls bare or else hung with matting or tapestry. Here was nothing for the imagination, nothing to assist the comprehension of the spectator, or to help the actor, and yet it is said that, notwithstanding, Shakespeare's plays were, at that time, more intelligible without scenery than they became afterwards with it."—LESSING.

"What makes Shakespeare's greatness is his equal excellence in every portion of his art—in style, in character, and in dramatic invention. No one has ever been more skilful in the playwright's craft. The interest begins at the first scene, it never slackens, and you cannot possibly put down the book before finishing it. . . . Hence it is that Shakespeare's pieces are so effective on the stage ; they were intended for it, and it is as acted plays that we must judge them. . . . They might succeed better still if the conditions of representation had not changed so much in the last century. We demand to-day a kind

¹ A masque at the Court of King James.

of scenic illusion to which Shakespeare's theatre does not lend itself."—
M. EDMUND SCHERER.

"I also saw 'The Tempest,' with really magical scenery ; but, unfortunately, Shakespeare vanished in the enjoyment of the eye. One forgot the Poet in the wonderful decorations, and returned home as empty as if one had been viewing a panorama."—HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN to the GRAND DUKE OF WEIMAR, 9th August, 1857.

"The short space of time—from two hours to two hours and a half—in which plays are said to have been acted in Shakespeare's time, has excited much discussion among commentators. It can hardly be doubted that the dialogue, which often exceeds two thousand lines, was intended to be spoken, for none of the dramatists wrote with a view to publication, and few of the plays were printed from the author's manuscript. This fact points to a skilled and rapid delivery on the part of the actor. Artists of the French school, whose voices are highly trained, and capable of a varied and subtle modulation, will run through a speech of fifty lines with the utmost ease and rapidity, and there is good reason to suppose that the blank verse of the Elizabethan dramatists was spoken 'trippingly on the tongue'. In the 'Stage Player's Complaynt,' a pamphlet that appeared in 1641, we find an actor making use of the expression : 'Oh, the times when my tongue have ranne as fast upon the Scœane as a Windebanks pen over the Ocean !' As the plays, moreover, were not divided into acts, no pause was necessary in the representation ; they were, besides, so constructed as to allow the opening of every scene to be spoken by characters who had not appeared in the close of the preceding one, this being done, presumably, to avoid unnecessary delay. So with an efficient elocution, and no 'waits,' the Elizabethan actors would have got through one-half of a play before our Victorian actors could cover a third."—"Transactions of the New Shakespeare Society," 1887.

In dramatic construction Shakespeare excelled all his contemporaries. With the management of the verse he was throughout his professional career making experiments, and only in his latest plays does it become a facile instrument for dramatic expression. But as regards the constructive form of the play he seems from the first to have preferred the method of continuity in vogue on the public stages to the more artificial plan of the classical play which consisted of five episodes,

more or less complete in themselves, with a chorus or dumb show between each of them. It is impossible that Shakespeare could have been ignorant of the existence of the Latin plays which were acted (sometimes in English) at the Universities and at the Inns of Court, but the internal evidence of the plays themselves shows that he was very sparing in the use of chorus, avoiding the dumb show and the unnecessary introduction of incidental music. Shakespeare wished the story of his plays to develop easily and rapidly from the opening to the crisis which was not reached until about two-thirds of the play had been written. And then came the catastrophe in the concluding incidents. An examination of the first collected edition of his plays, in the 1623 folio, confirms this view. Of the thirty-six plays which appear in that volume six of them have no divisions into acts and scenes, and of these six "Romeo and Juliet" is among the early written plays, while "Antony and Cleopatra" is one of the latest. Ten of the plays are divided into acts but without any further divisions for scenes, and among these ten is "Titus Andronicus," a very early play, and "Coriolanus," a very late one. Twelve of the plays are irregular in their divisions; one has an act omitted altogether as in "The Taming of the Shrew"; some of the acts are divided into scenes, and not others, as in "Henry VI, Part I"; once the opening of the play is divided into acts and scenes and then the division is not further continued, as in "Hamlet". Out of the whole thirty-six plays in this first folio there are only eight in the volume having divisions—in acts and scenes—similar to those shown in the printed editions to-day; and these eight include "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," together with "The Tempest," a comedy written twenty years later. Now it seems incredible that this wide divergence of treatment of divisions in Shakespeare's plays, collected under one cover, should have been accidentally overlooked by the editors, or sanctioned by the publishers without comment. The explanation would seem to be that the editors probably looked upon the inserted act and scene divisions as matters of little importance since they were aware that twenty-one of the plays had already appeared in print without them, many of which were still being acted at the "Globe," also, it may be presumed, without regular intervals. Then if the editors realized that the divisions they were adding to the plays in the folio failed to show the conclusion of definite incidents, or to mark the changes

of locality, they doubtless abandoned the task without attempting to complete it. This seems the only way to account for the meaningless confusion in which these divisions have been left in the volume.

For instance, to take the comedy of "Twelfth Night," one of the plays having its original divisions still retained on the modern stage, to its injury as drama. In the play the comic action culminates at the point where Sir Andrew, after the interrupted duel with Viola, runs off the stage by one of the stage-doors to immediately re-enter by another, and assaults her twin brother Sebastian to his own infinite discomfort. How out of place it was to insert an act division between Sir Andrew's exit and re-entrance seems to have struck the printer who, at the end of this act, omits the words *Finis Actus Tertius*, the only act out of the five which does not receive this indication of finality. In the "Midsummer Night's Dream" the printer again shows his ingenuity in escaping from difficulties. As the Elizabethan stage had no drop-curtain the conclusion of a scene or act was made apparent to the spectator by the return of all the actors to the "tyring-house". In the Dream play, where the division of Act III. is shown, the pair of lovers are still asleep on the stage, and in order that the reader may not think they rise and leave the stage the words *They sleep all the Act* are inserted. Then when the play is continued in the next act and the direction *Exeunt* appears, the reader again is reminded that this does not apply to the sleepers, for the words *Sleepers Lye Still* precede the word *Exeunt*. In the earlier quarto editions, where act and scene divisions are not used, the stage directions about the sleepers do not appear; nor would they be needed if the action of the play were continuous.

Some scholars are of opinion that "The Tempest" was written originally as a masque for performance at Court and not for the public theatre. But the play reads very much like Shakespeare's farewell contribution to the repertory of the King's players. The action is continuous, except that the dramatist for the first and only time leaves the stage empty between the fourth and fifth Acts, unless something has been omitted from the original text. The play has the appearance of having been printed from the author's own manuscript, and it no doubt was inserted in the folio by the editors as the first play among

the comedies because it was their latest acquisition from his hand. It is probable, too, that this was the only one of Shakespeare's plays which he himself divided into acts and scenes. Moreover, the stage directions are undoubtedly his own, and suggest that he was writing instructions for those whom he would not be able to personally rehearse on the stage. Whatever background may have been used in the way of a scene, either at the Court performance or at the Blackfriars, Shakespeare wrote "The Tempest," as he did all his other plays, without visualizing any scenic accessories as forming a necessary part of the representation. The costumes worn by the characters, the properties they used, and the tapestried stage with its two doors, balcony, and alcove—these are the only stage adjuncts of which Shakespeare seems to have been conscious during the twenty years in which he wrote plays.

The table on the opposite page shows unquestionably that Shakespeare's plays were written to be acted and not only to be read. If they do not act well on the modern stage it is because our actor-managers no longer understand how to present them. But it is difficult to believe that the plays would not recover their vitality in the theatre if they were produced on a stage similar to that of the Elizabethan period, when managers would be obliged to concentrate their attention on the characters and on the dialogue. To-day when it is asserted that a play of Shakespeare's has been given for 200 consecutive nights it means that it has been produced in the form of grand opera, and that while the claims of the author to just treatment have been entirely ignored those of the stage carpenter have been lavishly acknowledged and provided for.

At the same time it must be increasingly recognized that in English-speaking countries the playhouse is no longer used to foster plays which hold the mirror up to nature, and that classical dramas are not wanted by those who at present control our theatres solely for the purpose of commercial speculation.

A CHRONOLOGY OF SHAKESPEARES PLAYS, SHO

The "THEATER". Shoreditch.	Newington Butts. Lambeth.	The "Rose". Bankside.	Place of Representa- tion not known.	The "CURTAIL". Shoreditch.
Built 1576. —		1592-1594. —	1590-1596. —	1596-1598. —
1587-1589. <i>Thos. Kyd's (?) Old Play of Hamlet, and Marlowe's Doctor Faustus are mentioned as having been acted here sometime before 1596.</i>	Feb. 26, 1591. <i>Marlowe's Jew of Malta.</i> Mar. 3, 1591. <i>Hen. VI. Part I. (first performance).</i> June 9, 1594. <i>Old Play of Hamlet (revised).</i>	Jan. 23, 1593. <i>Titus Andronicus (first performance).</i> — <i>Hen. VI. Part II. Hen. VI. Part III.</i> — <i>Edward III. (Countess Episode).</i> Sept. 25, 1601. <i>Kyd's Spanish Tragedy, with additions by Ben Jonson.</i> — <i>The Cross Keys, Inn Yard, Gracechurch Street.</i> 1594. <i>Burbage, with his players, and Shakespeare acted here some part of this year.</i>	Comedy of Errors. <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> <i>Ben Jonson's Comedy, 'Every Man in his Humour', acted in this theatre by Burbage's players 1597-8.</i> <i>All's Well That Ends Well.</i> <i>Hamlet (rewritten by Shakespeare)</i> <i>Hen. IV. Part I. Troilus & Cressida</i> <i>Hen. IV. Part II. Merry Wives of Windsor.</i> <i>Some of these plays may have been acted at the "Theater."</i>	

NOTE.—Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* and *Hamlet*, also Marlowe's *Faustus* and *Jew of Malta*, the first time we hear of him is from the performance of *Hen. VI. Part I.* at Newington Butts. A year or two later at the Rose, but it was written about this time. *Romeo and Juliet* and Ben Jonson's *Comedy of Errors* were there. The evidence for play-revivals at the Globe is found on the title-pages of the later editions taken from Cunningham's *Revels*, and copied from Mr. J. T. Murray's *English Dramatic Compositions* (1913) that the performances of the dramatist's plays in the royal palaces during his lifetime inclusive, are arranged approximately in the order in which they were written.—W. POEL.

HERE THEY WERE ACTED IN LONDON, 1591—1642.

"GLOBE". Bankside.	The "GLOBE". Bankside.	Blackfriars' Playhouse.	At Court.	At Court.
1599-1613.	1599-1613.	1597-1609.	<i>For Queen Elizabeth.</i>	<i>For King Charles.</i>
— y V.	— <i>Revivals.</i>	<i>Rented by the Children of the Chapel Royal who appeared, 1601, in Ben Jonson's Comedy, 'The Poetaster.'</i>	1594 Comedy of Errors. 1598 Love's Labour's Lost. 1599 Merry Wives (?) 1603 Midsummer-Night's Dream (?)	1633 Richard III. — Taming of Shrew. 1634 Cymbeline. — Winter's Tale. 1636 Othello. 1637 Julius Cæsar.
Ado About nothing.	Romeo and Juliet.	—	—	—
You Like It.	Richard II.	—	—	—
let (<i>original version</i>).	Richard III.	1610-1642.	<i>For King James.</i>	—
th Night.	Henry IV. Part I.	Burbage's players were now acting at the "Globe" and at the "Blackfriars."	1604 Othello. — Merry Wives. — Measure for Measure. — Comedy of Errors.	—
s Cæsar.	Merry Wives.	—	1605 Love's Labour's Lost. — Henry V. — Merchant of Venice. (<i>twice</i>).	—
ure for Measure.	Hamlet.	<i>Revivals.</i>	1606 Lear. 1611 Tempest. — Winter's Tale. 1612 Much Ado. — Tempest. — Winter's Tale. — Merry Wives. — Othello. — Julius Cæsar.	At the Inns of Court.
lo.	—	Merchant of Venice.	1613 Hen. IV. Pt. I. — Much Ado. 1618 Twelfth Night. — Winter's Tale. 1622 Twelfth Night. 1624 Winter's Tale. 1625 Hen. IV. Pt. I.	1594. Comedy of Errors (<i>in Gray's Inn Hall</i>) (?)
Lear.	1614-1642.	Othello.	—	1602. Twelfth Night. (<i>in Middle Temple Hall</i>).
eth.	Romeo and Juliet.	Taming of Shrew.	—	—
of Athens.	Richard II.	—	—	—
les.	Richard III.	—	—	—
ay & Cleopatra.	Merchant of Venice.	—	—	—
lanus.	Merry Wives.	—	—	—
eline.	Henry V.	—	—	—
er's Tale.	Hamlet.	—	—	—
est.	Taming of Shrew.	—	—	—
—	Othello.	—	—	—
—	King Lear.	—	—	—
—	Pericles.	—	—	—

ere the most popular plays in London when Shakespeare began writing for the Stage. The first is mentioned by Nash, the dramatist. There is no mention of the play *Edward III.* being acted e Curtain, and the other five plays were written at the period when Shakespeare's Company was rtos; this applies only to plays separately printed. The names of the plays acted at Court are 42. It is quite possible that other plays by Shakespeare were acted at Court. Mr. Ernest Law : numbered upwards of one hundred. The 36 plays of Shakespeare, named in columns 2 to 6,



STEPS TOWARDS THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

In publishing the fourth list of contributions to the new library for the crippled and exiled University of Louvain, which has been in process of formation in the John Rylands Library since the month of December, 1914, we furnish fresh evidence of the generous and widespread sympathy which our appeal has evoked.

One of the most gratifying features of this response to our appeal is that all classes of the community, not only in this country, but in many parts of the English-speaking world, have participated in it. The list of donors will be found to contain, not only the names of institutions which have made liberal contributions of eminently suitable works from their stores of duplicates ; and of individual collectors who have given with equal liberality, from their own shelves, volumes of great interest, and often of great rarity ; but also the names of struggling students and working men whose gifts partake of the sanctity of a sacrifice, since they consist, in many cases, of treasured possessions which had been acquired through the exercise of strict economy and self-denial, and which in consequence they had learnt to love and prize.

In this way upwards of 8000 volumes have been accumulated already, and each day brings with it fresh offers of assistance. These gifts constitute an excellent nucleus for the new library ; yet, when it is realized that the collection of books so wantonly destroyed at Louvain numbered nearly a quarter of a million of volumes, it is evident that if the work of replacement, which we have inaugurated, is to be accomplished, very much more remains to be done.

There are those who seek to condone this insensate crime of destruction by suggesting that the burning of the library of Louvain was an unfortunate accident ; whilst others contend that the contents of the library were only partially destroyed, and that portions have been removed to a place of safety. Unfortunately, these views are not

shared by such trustworthy eye-witnesses as Monsieur Delannoy, the Librarian of the University, who himself witnessed the deliberate destruction of the library by German soldiers provided with special apparatus, without any attempt being made to spare the contents. Indeed, so complete was the destruction that not a single entire leaf could be recovered from amongst the débris. Several charred volumes which had retained their shape were found, it is true, but these crumbled to powder as soon as they were handled. Other evidence of an equally convincing and trustworthy character of the wantonness of the crime has been furnished by Monsieur Henri Davignon, Secretary of the Belgian Commission of Inquiry, in a communication to the editor of "The Times," which appeared in the columns of that journal on the 19th October, 1916, where, in the interest of truth, we have placed before us many facts which have been established by Belgian and neutral witnesses, and even by Germans themselves, in a manner which would prove satisfactory to any Court of Inquiry.

Much of this damage is beyond repair, since among the manuscripts alone, which numbered at least 1000 volumes, were many priceless and irreplaceable treasures. The collection contained an autograph manuscript of sermons of Thomas à Kempis, the author of "Imitatio Christi"; a fifteenth century manuscript of "De viris illustribus" of Cornelius Nepos, which was regarded as one of the most important extant texts of that author; two autograph manuscripts of Donysius Carthusiensis; an eleventh century manuscript of Prudentius; a large number of manuscripts relating to the history of Belgium, many of which dealt with the history of the various religious houses; and a considerable number of liturgical and other illuminated manuscripts. But the loss most to be deplored consists of the total destruction of the Archives of the University, including that most precious of all the muniments, the foundation Bull, issued by Pope Martin V in 1425, which renders for ever impossible the complete and documentary history of the *Alma Mater* of the new foundation, which was in contemplation, if we are correctly informed, at the outbreak of the war.

And it was not only in manuscripts that the library was rich. Its printed books included a remarkable collection of "Incunabula," numbering upwards of a thousand examples, a large proportion of which

were printed in the Low Countries. The collections of mathematical and medical works were equally notable, the latter containing the fine vellum copy of "*De corporis humani fabrica*" of Vesalius, presented to the University by the Emperor Charles V; whilst the collections of "*Jesuitica*" and "*Jansenistica*," said to be quite unrivalled, were amongst the possessions of which the University was justly proud.

It is true that much of this damage, as we have already remarked, is beyond repair, but some of it may be at least mitigated by the ready co-operation of the sympathetic Allies, who realize the measure of their indebtedness to that great little Nation, who sacrificed all but honour to preserve her own independence, and thereby safeguard the liberties of Europe, by nullifying the invader's plans.

Mr. Lloyd George struck the right note when he exhorted us to keep the fires on every national altar burning, so that they shall be alight when those, who are upholding the honour of the nation upon the various battlefields, return with the laurels of victory from the stricken fields of this mighty war. Unfortunately, many of the altars of our noble Ally in Belgium have been either desecrated or thrown down by the self-constituted apostles of culture. Should we not, therefore, regard it as a privilege to assist her in every possible way to erect new altars, and to rekindle the sacred fires, which, for the time, have been wellnigh extinguished?

It is, therefore, with the utmost confidence that we renew and emphasize our appeal for help in this endeavour to restore, at least in some measure, the resources of the crippled University, by the provision of a library adequate in every respect to meet the requirements of the case, so as to be in readiness for the time of her restoration.

It is unlikely that we shall be able to offer the equivalent of the thousand lost manuscripts. That equivalent must be exacted from Germany by means of a toll upon her rich collections at Berlin, Munich, Dresden, and elsewhere. And what is true of manuscripts applies with equal force to the other departments of the library, including the fine collection of "*Incunabula*," many of which may be actually replaced from the collection in the Royal Library at Berlin. This, surely, is one of the obligations which Germany should be forced to fulfil on the conclusion of peace. It must, however, be borne in mind that the object of the toll is to make amends; it must not be allowed to develop into actions of reprisal.

We entertain the hope that the new library, which is already rising phoenix-like out of the ashes of the old one, will be far richer and more glorious than its predecessor ; and we are anxious that the agencies through which this is to be accomplished should be as widely representative as possible.

For that reason we welcome the appeal which has been made by Lord Muir Mackenzie, Chairman of the Executive Committee, which was appointed early in the year at a large representative meeting, over which Viscount Bryce presided, for promoting the resuscitation of the Library of the University of Louvain, and we hope that it may result in giving a fresh impulse to the movement. It is to be hoped, however, that some attempt will be made to provide for the co-ordination of the efforts which are being put forth in many directions to bring about the same result.

It may not be out of place to explain, that when we made our first public appeal in April, 1915, no other definite steps or public announcements of any similar proposals had been made. We have since learned that the Classical Association had decided to make an appeal to its members to assist in the reconstruction of the classical side of the library, and that the University of Manchester had resolved to set aside a set of the publications of the University Press, together with a considerable number of duplicates from the Christie Library ; but for various reasons definite action was postponed for a while.

In the meantime the present scheme was launched. It originated with the resolution of the Council of the John Rylands Library, held in December, 1914, to give some practical expression to their deep feelings of sympathy with the authorities of the University of Louvain, in the irreparable loss which they had suffered, and it was further decided that this expression of sympathy should take the form of a gift of books to be selected by the librarian from the duplicates in the possession of the library, together with a set of the publications issued by the library.

A list of works forming the first instalment of the proposed gift, numbering upwards of 200 volumes, was drawn up to accompany the offer, when it was made to the authorities of the University, through the medium of Dr. A. Carnoy, Professor of Zend in the University of Louvain, who at that time was resident in Cambridge. The offer, it is needless to say, was accepted, and Professor

Carnoy in his acknowledgment described the gift as "one of the very first acts which tend to the preparation of our revival".

As the exiled University was for the time dismembered and homeless, we undertook, at the request of the Louvain authorities, to house the volumes until such time as the new buildings were ready to receive them. It was then that it occurred to us that there must be many other libraries and similar institutions, as well as private individuals, who would welcome the opportunity of sharing in this expression of practical sympathy, and we announced in the pages of the *BULLETIN* of April, 1915, our willingness to receive and be responsible for the custody of any suitable works which might be entrusted to us, with the result which we have already announced.

Our undertaking includes the preparation of a careful register of the names and addresses of the contributors to the scheme, together with an exact record of their gifts, for presentation with the library, to serve as a permanent record.

Furthermore, we have undertaken to prepare a catalogue of the collection, so that when the time comes for its transference to its new home it may be placed upon the shelves prepared for its reception, and be ready forthwith for use.

In order to obviate any needless duplication of gifts the librarian would regard it as a favour if those who may decide to respond to this appeal would, in the first instance, send to him a list of the works which they are willing to contribute, so that the register may be examined with a view of ascertaining whether any of the titles already figure therein.

It is possible that there are, amongst our readers, or in their immediate circle of friends, many others who would gladly participate in this expression of practical sympathy with the authorities of Louvain University, did they possess any suitable works. For their information we venture to point out that there are a number of modern reference works, such as: "The Catholic Encyclopedia"; "The Jewish Encyclopaedia"; "The Oxford English Dictionary"; "Wright's English Dialect Dictionary"; "The Dictionary of National Biography"; Baldwin's "Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology"; "The Cyclopaedia of Education"; "Le Grand Dictionnaire Universel" of Larousse; "La Grande Encyclopédie"; "Patrologiæ Cursus Completus," edited by the Abbé Migne; "Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ

Latinitatis" of Du Cange; and others of a similar character which are indispensable to the efficiency of the library of any modern university, and which, hitherto, have not been included in any of the registered gifts. We should welcome offers of such sets, and we should be glad, in case of need, to put would-be contributors in communication with the agents who would undertake to procure them. Already one contributor has forwarded a cheque for five pounds, for the purchase of any suitable books that we may advise, and we shall be glad to receive other contributions of a similar character.

The names of donors, with a description of their gifts, will be published periodically in the pages of the BULLETIN.

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- BREVET LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN P. NICHOLSON, Litt.D., Recorder-in-Chief, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
- NICHOLSON (John Page) *Catalogue of library of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel J. P. Nicholson, relating to the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1866*. *Philadelphia*, 1914. 8vo.

NOTE.—Such has been the pressure upon our space in the present issue that we have been reluctantly compelled to hold over the second half of this list of contributions for inclusion in the next issue.

CLASSIFIED LIST OF RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

The classification of the items in this list is in accordance with the main divisions of the "Dewey Decimal System," and in the interest of those readers, who may not be familiar with the system, it may be advisable briefly to point out the advantages claimed for this method of arrangement.

The principal advantage of a classified catalogue, as distinguished from an alphabetical one, is that it preserves the unity of the subject, and by so doing enables a student to follow its various ramifications with ease and certainty. Related matter is thus brought together, and the reader turns to one sub-division and round it he finds grouped others which are intimately connected with it. In this way new lines of research are often suggested.

One of the great merits of the system employed is that it is easily capable of comprehension by persons previously unacquainted with it. Its distinctive feature is the employment of the ten digits, in their ordinary significance, to the exclusion of all other symbols—hence the name, decimal system.

The sum of human knowledge and activity has been divided by Dr. Dewey into ten main classes—0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. These ten classes are each separated in a similar manner, thus making 100 divisions. An extension of the process provides 1000 sections, which can be still further sub-divided in accordance with the nature and requirements of the subject. Places for new subjects may be provided at any point of the scheme by the introduction of new decimal points. For the purpose of this list we have not thought it necessary to carry the classification beyond the hundred main divisions, the arrangement of which will be found in the "Order of Classification" which follows :—

ORDER OF CLASSIFICATION.

000 General Works.

- 010 BIBLIOGRAPHY.
- 020 LIBRARY ECONOMY.
- 030 GENERAL CYCLOPEDIAS.
- 040 GENERAL COLLECTIONS.
- 050 GENERAL PERIODICALS.
- 060 GENERAL SOCIETIES.
- 070 NEWSPAPERS.
- 080 SPECIAL LIBRARIES. POLYGRAPHY.
- 090 BOOK RARITIES.

100 Philosophy.

- 110 METAPHYSICS.
- 120 SPECIAL METAPHYSICAL TOPICS.
- 130 MIND AND BODY.
- 140 PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEMS.
- 150 MENTAL FACULTIES. PSYCHOLOGY.
- 160 LOGIC.
- 170 ETHICS.
- 180 ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS.
- 190 MODERN PHILOSOPHERS.

200 Religion.

- 210 NATURAL THEOLOGY.
- 220 BIBLE.
- 230 DOCTRINAL THEOL. DOGMATICS.
- 240 DEVOTIONAL AND PRACTICAL.
- 250 HOMILETIC. PASTORAL. PAROCHIAL.
- 260 CHURCH. INSTITUTIONS. WORK.
- 270 RELIGIOUS HISTORY.
- 280 CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS.
- 290 NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS.

300 Sociology.

- 310 STATISTICS.
- 320 POLITICAL SCIENCE.
- 330 POLITICAL ECONOMY.
- 340 LAW.
- 350 ADMINISTRATION.
- 360 ASSOCIATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS.
- 370 EDUCATION.
- 380 COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATION.
- 390 CUSTOMS. COSTUMES. FOLK-LORE.

400 Philology.

- 410 COMPARATIVE.
- 420 ENGLISH.
- 430 GERMAN.
- 440 FRENCH.
- 450 ITALIAN.
- 460 SPANISH.
- 470 LATIN.
- 480 GREEK.
- 490 MINOR LANGUAGES.

500 Natural Science.

- 510 MATHEMATICS.
- 520 ASTRONOMY.
- 530 PHYSICS.
- 540 CHEMISTRY.
- 550 GEOLOGY.
- 560 PALEONTOLOGY.
- 570 BIOLOGY.
- 580 BOTANY.
- 590 ZOOLOGY.

600 Useful Arts.

- 610 MEDICINE.
- 620 ENGINEERING.
- 630 AGRICULTURE.
- 640 DOMESTIC ECONOMY.
- 650 COMMUNICATION AND COMMERCE.
- 660 CHEMICAL TECHNOLOGY.
- 670 MANUFACTURES.
- 680 MECHANIC TRADES.
- 690 BUILDING.

700 Fine Arts.

- 710 LANDSCAPE GARDENING.
- 720 ARCHITECTURE.
- 730 SCULPTURE.
- 740 DRAWING, DESIGN, DECORATION.
- 750 PAINTING.
- 760 ENGRAVING.
- 770 PHOTOGRAPHY.
- 780 MUSIC.
- 790 AMUSEMENTS.

800 Literature.

- 810 AMERICAN.
- 820 ENGLISH.
- 830 GERMAN.
- 840 FRENCH.
- 850 ITALIAN.
- 860 SPANISH.
- 870 LATIN.
- 880 GREEK.
- 890 MINOR LANGUAGES.

900 History.

- 910 GEOGRAPHY AND DESCRIPTION.
- 920 BIOGRAPHY.
- 930 ANCIENT HISTORY.
- 940 EUROPE.
- 950 ASIA.
- 960 AFRICA.
- 970 NORTH AMERICA.
- 980 SOUTH AMERICA.
- 990 OCEANICA AND POLAR REGIONS.

Modern.

800 LITERATURE : GENERAL.

ANECDOTA OXONIENSIA. Texts, documents, and extracts chiefly from manuscripts in the Bodleian and other Oxford libraries. *Oxford*, 1914.
4to. *In progress.* R 8206

iv. Mediæval and modern series: 14. Map (W.) W. Map: De nugis curialium.
Edited by M. R. James. . . .

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8vo. *In progress.* R 14367

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3. Courteault (P.) G. de Malvyn, magistrat et humaniste bordelais, 1545 ?-1617 : étude biographique et littéraire. Suivie de harangues, poésies et lettres inédites.

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4to, pp. 328. R 37911

— Tableau de la littérature du centon, chez les anciens et chez les modernes. *Londres*, 1874-75. 2 vols. 4to. R 37910

DUBROCA (Louis) L'art de lire à haute voix, suivi de l'application de ses principes à la lecture des ouvrages d'éloquence et de poésie. Nouvelle édition entièrement refondue . . . augmentée d'une dernière partie consacrée à la poésie dramatique et à l'art théâtral. *Paris*, 1824. 8vo.
pp. xvij, 535. R 31297

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Manchester, 1902. 4to, pp. 30. R 36405

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R 38036

* * The title is taken from the caption.

- ABYSSINIA.—GLASER (Eduard) *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*. Auf Grund neuentdeckter Inschriften. *München*, 1895. 8vo, pp. xii, 210.
R 37931

- MOROCCO.—BARTLETT (Sir Ellis Ashmead) *The passing of the Shereefian empire*. [With maps and plates.] *Edinburgh and London*, 1910. 8vo, pp. xii, 532.
R 38355

- HARRIS (Lawrence) *With Mulai Hafid at Fez: behind the scenes in Morocco*. With a frontispiece . . . and . . . illustrations. *London*, 1909. 8vo, pp. xvi, 270.
R 38361

- PERRIER (Amelia) *A winter in Morocco*. . . . [With plates.] *London*, 1873. 8vo, pp. viii, 365.
R 31924

- WEIR (Thomas H.) *The shaikhs of Morocco in the XVIth century*. . . . With preface by James Robertson . . . With a map. *Edinburgh*, 1904. 8vo, pp. xlvii, 316.
R 37446

- SOUTH AFRICA.—BLELOCH (W.) *The new South Africa: its value and development*. . . . With illustrations, maps. . . . Second edition, revised. *London*, 1902. 8vo, pp. xxvi, 435.
R 38359

- MUELLER (Ernest Bruce Iwan-) *Lord Milner and South Africa*. . . . With . . . portraits. *London*, 1902. 8vo, pp. xxxii, 751.
R 38363

970 HISTORY: MODERN: AMERICA.

- GENERAL.—BALDWIN (John Denison) *Ancient America, in notes on American archæology*. . . . With illustrations. *London*, 1872. 8vo, pp. xii, 299.
R 31602

- HOVGAARD (William) *The voyages of the Norsemen to America*. With . . . illustrations and . . . maps. [American-Scandinavian Foundation.—Scandinavian Monographs, 1.] *New York*, 1914. 8vo, pp. xxi, 304.
R 37779

- NORTH.—WRONG (George Mackinnon) *The fall of Canada: a chapter in the history of the Seven Years' War*. [With maps and plates.] *Oxford*, 1914. 8vo, pp. 272.
R 37486

- ROUSSET (Ricardo V.) *Datos historicos y geotopograficos de la Isla de Cuba, ilustrados con un mapa en don de se detallan las provincias o cacicazgos que se encontraban en 1512, cuando empezo la conquista, con las alteraciones de su territorio hasta el presente*. *Habana*, 1914. 8vo, pp. 23.
R 38893

- BEST, afterwards BESTE (John Richard), afterwards BESTE (John Richard Digby) *The Wabash: or, adventures of an English gentleman's family in the interior of America*. . . . [With plate.] *London*, 1855. 2 vols. 8vo.
R 31900

970 HISTORY: MODERN: AMERICA.

- BINGHAM (Hiram) *3rd of the Name*. The Monroe doctrine : an obsolete shibboleth. *New Haven*, 1913. 8vo, pp. vii, 153. R 35121
- BISHOP (Nathaniel Holmes) Four months in a sneak-box. A boat voyage of 2600 miles down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and along the Gulf of Mexico. [With maps and illustrations.] *Boston*, 1879. 8vo, pp. xii, 322. R 31874
- BOIES (Henry Martyn) Prisoners and paupers : a study of the abnormal increase of criminals, and the public burden of pauperism in the United States ; the causes and remedies. [With plates.] *New York, London*, 1893. 8vo, pp. xv, 318. R 29291
- BOLLES (Frank) Land of the lingering snow : chronicles of a stroller in New England from January to June. *Boston and New York*, 1891. 8vo, pp. 234. R 31884
- DUNNING (William Archibald) The British Empire and the United States : a review of their relations during the century of peace following the treaty of Ghent. . . . With an introduction by . . . Viscount Bryce . . . and a preface by Nicholas Murray Butler. . . . *London*, [1914]. 8vo, pp. xl, 381. R 38101
- GILLMORE (Parker) Prairie farms and prairie folk. [With plates.] *London*, 1872. 2 vols. 8vo. R 31901
- GROHMAN (William Alfred Baillie) Camps in the Rockies. Being a narrative of life on the frontier, and sport in the Rocky Mountains, with an account of the cattle ranches of the west. . . . With illustrations and . . . map. . . . *London*, 1882. 8vo, pp. viii, 438. R 24186
- LAUGEL (Antoine Auguste) Les États-Unis pendant la guerre, 1861-65. *Paris*, 1866. 8vo, pp. xvi, 363. R 28453
- LONG (Armistead Lindsay) Memoirs of Robert E. Lee : his military and personal history. . . . Together with incidents relating to his private life, also a large amount of historical information hitherto unpublished. Collected and edited with the assistance of Marcus J. Wright. . . . Illustrated. *London*, 1886. 8vo, pp. 707. R 38398
- LOSSING (Benson John) The Hudson, from the wilderness to the sea. . . . Illustrated . . . from drawings by the author. . . . *Troy, N. Y.* [1866]. 4to, pp. vii, 464. R 31882
- MARRYAT (Frederick) A diary in America, with remarks on its institutions. *Paris*, 1839. 8vo, pp. 345. R 31899
- OLMSTED (Frederick Law) A journey through Texas ; or, a saddle-trip on the south western frontier : with a statistical appendix. [Edited by J. H. Olmsted.] [With frontispiece and map.] [Our Slave States, 2.] *New York*, 1857. 8vo, pp. xxxiv, 516. R 31871

970 HISTORY : MODERN : AMERICA.

SOMERS (Robert) *The southern States since the war, 1870-71.* . . . With map. *London and New York*, 1871. 8vo, pp. xii, 286. R 31876

SMEDES (Susan Dabney) *Memorials of a southern planter* [T. S. G. Dabney.] . . . Second edition. [With portraits.] *Baltimore*, 1888. 8vo, pp. 342. R 31875

TISSANDIER (Albert) *Six mois aux États-Unis : voyage d'un touriste dans l'Amerique du Nord, suivi d'une excursion à Panama.* Texte et dessins par A. Tissandier. . . . [Bibliothèque de la Nature.] *Paris*, [1886]. 8vo, pp. 298. R 31836

USHER (Roland Greene) *The rise of the American people : a philosophical interpretation of American history.* *London*, 1915. 8vo, pp. 413. R 38370

WRIGHT (Robert) *A memoir of General James Oglethorpe, one of the earliest reformers of prison discipline in England, and the founder of Georgia, in America.* . . . *London*, 1867. 8vo, pp. xvi, 414. R 29448

SOUTH.—MOSES (Bernard) *The Spanish dependencies in South America : an introduction to the history of their civilisation.* . . . *London*, 1914. 2 vols. 8vo. R 37680

990 HISTORY : MODERN : OCEANICA.

MONEY (James William B.) *Java ; or, how to manage a colony ; showing a practical solution of the questions now affecting British India.* *London*, 1861. 2 vols. 8vo. R 31597

HIGHT (James) and BAMFORD (H. D.) *The constitutional history and law of New Zealand.* *Christchurch, N.Z.*, [1914]. 8vo, pp. xii, 418. R 38519

NEW SOUTH WALES. *An epitome of the official history of New South Wales, from the foundation of the colony, in 1788, to the close of the first session of the eleventh parliament under responsible government, in 1883. Compiled chiefly from the official and parliamentary records of the colony, under the direction of Thomas Richards.* . . . [With map and table.] *Sydney*, 1883. 8vo, pp. xii, 790. R 38579

MAWSON (Sir Douglas) *The home of the blizzard : being the story of the Australasian Antarctic Expedition, 1911-14.* . . . Illustrated . . . also with maps. *London*, [1915]. 2 vols. 8vo. R 38081

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BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY MANCHESTER

VOL. 3

JANUARY-APRIL, 1917

No. 4

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

AT the January meeting of the Council of Governors the seventeenth annual report was presented, in which THE YEAR the work of the library during the past year 1916. was reviewed, and it will not be out of place, in these pages, briefly to summarize such portions of its contents as are likely to be of interest to our readers.

As we looked forward, at the commencement of the year, it was not unnatural to anticipate a decline in the library's activities, and it is gratifying, therefore, to be able to report that those fears have in no sense been realized. From whatever point of view the work of the library is viewed, in spite of the absorbing and overwhelming fact of the great war, there are such unmistakable evidences of progress, that the governors have cause to congratulate themselves upon the success which has attended their efforts, not merely to "carry on" the regular activities, but, wherever possible, to open out new avenues of service.

It is true that the war has withdrawn still more of our male readers for national service, yet the number of readers using the library has actually shown an increase, and a great deal of important research work is being conducted not only by students from our own university, but by others from a distance.

The resources of the library have been developed along lines which hitherto have been productive of such excellent results, and the efforts to reduce the number of lacunæ upon its shelves have again met with gratifying success. GROWTH OF THE LIBRARY RESOURCES. In this respect the officials renew their acknowledgments of the valuable assistance which they have received from members of the Council of Governors, Professors at the University, as well as readers, who, in the course of their investigations, have been able to call attention to the library's lack of important authorities. In most cases these deficiencies have been promptly supplied, whilst in the case of works

of rarity, which are not readily procurable, no effort has been spared to obtain them with the least possible delay. Suggestions of any kind which tend to the improvement of the library are welcomed, and receive prompt and sympathetic attention.

The additions to the library during the year, which number 3370 volumes, include many rare and interesting items, a few of which, taken almost at random, may be mentioned, as furnishing some idea of the character of the accessions which are constantly being obtained. The printed books include : the first edition of John Bunyan's "A discourse upon the pharisee and the publicane," 1685 ; Dante's "Divina commedia," 1555, the first edition in which the prefix "divina" is used ; John Florio's "Second frutes," 1591 ; "Worlde of wordes," 1598 ; and "Queen Anne's new world of words," 1611 ; the first edition of Montaigne's "Essayes done into English by John Florio," 1603 ; John Harington's translation of Ariosto's "Orlando furioso," 1591 ; Richard Brathwayte's "Natures embassie," 1621 ; "Times curtaine drawne," 1621 ; "Essaies upon the five senses," 1635 ; "An epitome of the Kinge of France," 1639 ; "Lignum Vitæ," 1658 ; and "Panthalia, or the Royal Romance," 1659 ; Barnabe Barnes' "Foure bookes of offices," 1606 ; Culpeper's "The idea of practical physic," [The Herbal], 1661 ; William Alexander, the Earl of Stirling's "Recreations with the muses," 1637 ; "A treatise of the cohabitacyon of the faithfull with the unfaithfull," 1535 ; Prisse d'Avenne's "L'art arabe," 4 vols., folio, 1870-80 ; "Collection des textes pour servir à l'étude de l'histoire," 49 vols., 1880-1913 ; César Daly's "L'architecture privée au 19me siècle," 8 vols., folio, 1870-80 ; one of the five only known copies of "Statuta Lugdunensia," [Lyons, 1485 ?] ; "Ordinances made by Sir Francis Bacon," 1642 ; "The official records of the Union and Confederate armies in the War of the Rebellion in America," 130 vols. ; "The Psalms of David," translated by King James I, 1631 ; a number of works on Celtic language and literature from the library of the late Standish O'Grady, including a set of the proofs of his unfinished "Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum," which was never published ; Guillaume de Guilleville's "Pèlerinage de l'âme," Paris, Vêrard, 1499 ; and a number of works dealing with the history of British India, selected with the help of Professor Ramsay Muir.

THE
YEAR'S AC-
CESSIONS.

The manuscript purchases include : Eight Syriac and Greek codices containing several important inedited texts, from the library of Dr. Rendel Harris ; a collection of manuscripts, numbering forty pieces, of undetermined antiquity, in the language of the Mo'so people, a non-Chinese race scattered throughout Southern China, which were acquired through the instrumentality of Mr. George Forrest, who obtained them in the remote and little-known country of their origin, whence he returned a few months ago. "Le coutumier du pays du duchè de Normandie," in a fifteenth century French hand ; Charles II : Letters Patent to Sir W. Killegrew, 1662, with a fine impression of the Great Seal attached ; "English Monumental inscriptions in Salisbury Cathedral," copied by T. H. Baker, 1903, 2 vols., fol. ; "Antiquitates Suffolciensis ;" heraldic and genealogical collections relating to the county of Suffolk, with 500 shields of arms drawn and emblazoned by the Rev. G. B. Jermyn, 4 vols.

In the following list of donors, which contains 121 names, we have fresh proof of the sustained and ever increasing practical interest in the library, and we take this opportunity of renewing our thanks, already expressed in another form, for these generous gifts, at the same time assuring the donors that these expressions of interest and goodwill are a most welcome source of encouragement to the governors.

GIFTS TO
THE LIB-
RARY.

John Ballinger, Esq.

W. K. Bixby, Esq.

Bodley's Librarian.

Miss K. F. Brothers.

The Right Rev. Dr. Casartelli.

George Watson Cole, Esq.

D. G. Crawford, Esq.

Henry Thomas Crofton, Esq.

Frank Cundall, Esq.

Andrew Macfarland Davis, Esq.

Robert Dick, Esq.

E. S. Dodgson, Esq.

A. J. Edmunds, Esq.

Mrs. Emmott. In memory of the
late Professor G. H. Emmott
of Liverpool University.

Senor Fidelino de Figueiredo.

Sir H. G. Fordham.

Garcia Rico y Cia.

S. Gaselee, Esq.

Trustees of E. J. W. Gibb Memorial.

Lawrence Haward, Esq.

Jesse Haworth, Esq.

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Robert S. Howarth, Esq.

Charles Hughes, Esq.

Secretary of State for India.

R. Jaeschke, Esq.

Lieutenant Wm. Jaggard.

A. K. Jolliffe, Esq.

The Rev. L. H. Jordan.

Frank Karslake, Esq.	W. Wright Roberts, Esq.
The Rev. Dr. Kilgour.	J. B. Robinson, Esq.
H. O. Lange, Esq.	Miss M. Sharpe.
Sir Sidney Lee.	Dr. H. O. Sommer.
F. S. Lees, Esq.	A. Sparke, Esq.
John Lees, Esq.	E. V. Stocks, Esq.
William Lees, Esq.	Miss Josephine D. Sutton.
Monsieur Paul Le Verdier.	Arthur Swann, Esq.
H. C. Levis, Esq.	The Rev. Canon W. Symonds.
The Librarian.	H. W. Thompson, Esq.
Sir G. W. Macalpine.	Mrs. J. C. Thompson.
James O. Manton, Esq.	Louis C. Tiffany, Esq.
Dr. A. Mingana.	Dr. Paget Toynbee.
Sir William Osler, Bart.	Aubrey de Vere, Esq.
Julian Peacock, Esq.	Guthrie Vine, Esq.
Joseph de Perott, Esq.	The Rev. D. R. Webster.
Edgar Prestage, Esq.	George Westby, Esq.
W. R. Prior, Esq.	Dr. G. C. Williamson.
Publishers of J. M. Head's Catalogue of portraits relating to W. Penn.	John Windsor, Esq.
J. H. Reynolds, Esq.	G. P. Winship, Esq.
	Thomas J. Wise, Esq.

Aberystwyth. National Library of Wales.

Australian Government.

Barcelona. Catalans Institut d'Estudis.

Birmingham. Assay Office.

Cambridge University Library.

Cardiff Public Library.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Chicago. John Crerar Library.

Chicago University Press.

Chicago. The Western Theological Seminary.

The Clarendon Press.

Copenhagen. Det Store Koneglige Bibliothek.

Cornell University Library.

Durham University Library.

Edinburgh University Library.

Groningen. Rijks-Universiteitbibliothek.

Habana. Academia Nacional.
Habana. Biblioteca Nacional.
Hyderabad Archæological Society.
Limoges. Bibliothèque.
Lisbon. Academia das Ciências.
Madras Government Museum.
Madras Government Press.
Manchester. Egyptian and Oriental Society.
Manchester. Free Reference Library.
Manchester. Municipal School of Technology.
Manchester. Victoria University.
Michigan University Library.
National Special Schools Union.
New Zealand. Government Statistician's Office.
New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Order of the Cross, Paignton.
Paris. Ministère de la Justice.
Paris. Office des universités françaises.
Pennsylvania University Library.
Research Defence Society.
Rochdale Art Gallery.
Rome. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
Sheffield. Hunter Archæological Society.
South Australia Public Library.
Stockholm. Kongelige Bibliothek.
Swedenborg Society.
Toronto Public Library.
Utrecht. Rijks-Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Washington. Congressional Library.
Washington. Smithsonian Institution.
Washington. United States National Museum.
Washington. Surgeon General's Office Library.
Washington University Library, St. Louis, Mo.
Yale University Library.

Special reference should be made to the gift of Mrs. Emmott, of Birkenhead, who has generously presented to the library a collection of works dealing with Roman law, and comparative law and juris-

prudence, numbering nearly 300 volumes, in memory of her husband, the late Professor Emmott, who filled the Queen Victoria Chair of Law, first in University College, and later in the University of Liverpool, from 1896 down to the time of his lamented death, in the hope that it may encourage others to take interest in a study in which the late Professor was himself so deeply interested, and upon which he was so great an authority. This collection forms a most welcome addition to our shelves, since it enables us to strengthen an important section of the library, which hitherto has been but very inadequately developed.

We have also received from the Secretary of State for India, through the kind offices of Prof. Ramsay Muir, and Mr. William Foster, the Superintendent of Records, a set, numbering nearly 500 volumes, of all the available Government reports and other publications, whether printed in this country or in India, relating to India. Furthermore, the library is to receive copies of all future publications from the same source. This has enabled us to lay excellent foundations of a collection of research material for the history of India, which will be developed as opportunities occur.

Interest in the public lectures, which were given in the library with the accustomed regularity, and which have come to be regarded as one of the established institutions of Manchester, has continued with but little abatement throughout the year. The evening audiences were not quite so crowded as in pre-war times, but the attendances more than justified the arrangements made. The attendances at the afternoon lectures, were, if anything, larger than usual. The syllabus included eight evening and three afternoon lectures, covering a wide and interesting range of subjects. The lecture of Dr. Rendel Harris on "The Origin of the Cult of Aphrodite" is printed in the present issue, whilst those of Professor Peake on "The Quintessence of Paulinism"; of Professor Elliot Smith on "Dragons and Rain Gods"; of Professor Tout on "Mediæval Town Planning"; and of Professor Herford on "The Poetry of Lucretius" will be given the permanence of print in these pages in due course.

Special lectures and demonstrations were also arranged at the request of a number of societies, craft guilds, training colleges, and schools of Manchester and the surrounding towns, and served to assist

LECTURES
AND
DEMON-
STRATIONS.

those who attended to obtain a better knowledge of the contents of the library, and how it could serve them in their respective studies.

The exhibition which was arranged in the early part of the year, to commemorate the Three-hundredth Anniversary of the Death of Shakespeare, and which we described in our last issue, remained on view throughout the year, and was visited by a large number of people, including numerous groups of students from the schools and colleges in and around Manchester, with evident enjoyment, and avowed benefit.

SHAKE-
SPEARE
TERCEN-
TENARY
EXHIBI-
TION.

The descriptive and illustrated handbook, which was issued with the object of increasing the educational value of the exhibition, was greeted with unstinted praise by the press, not only in this country, but also in America, and in France. The volume affords full and accurate information as to the bibliographical peculiarities, and other features of interest possessed by the various exhibits, which included not only the works of Shakespeare, but those of many of his contemporaries and predecessors. It extends to 180 pages, is furnished with a sixteen-page list of works for the study of Shakespeare, and sixteen facsimiles of the title-pages of some of the rarer works, and may still be obtained from the usual agents, at the price of one shilling.

With the present issue we complete the third volume of the BULLETIN, and if we may judge by the welcome which has been accorded to it, in its revived form, both in this country and abroad, we are encouraged to believe that we have succeeded in realizing our aim, to secure for it the permanence of a literary organ, by the publication of a regular succession of original contributions to literature in addition to the regular features of a library periodical. We regret that it has not been found possible to publish it with the desired regularity during the past year. This is accounted for by the difficulties which have arisen through the shortage of labour, and also of paper; but we shall employ every effort in the future to secure its regular appearance each quarter.

PUBLICA-
TIONS OF
THE
LIBRARY.

During the year we commenced the publication of a series of reprints of the principal articles appearing in our pages, with the object of giving them a much wider publicity, and at the same time of rescuing them from the fate of so many other important contributions to literature, which each year are simply buried and neglected for want

of similar treatment, because by an accident of birth they appear in the heart of some volume of transactions or other periodical publication. These reprints, of which six have already made their appearance, are bound in paper boards with cloth back, and may be procured from the usual publishers and agents at the price of one shilling each.

We have also republished in one volume (price 5s. net), under the title "The Ascent of Olympus," the four interesting articles by Dr. Rendel Harris, on the Greek cults, which have appeared at intervals in the BULLETIN. They are reproduced as nearly as possible in their original form, but with some corrections, expansions, justifications, and additional illustrations. In a short prefatory note Dr. Harris points out that it would have been easy to spread them over a much larger area; but perhaps they may suffice for the presentation of ideas which are to some extent novel, and, almost as certainly, to some persons distasteful.

On the one hand, says Dr. Harris, I have to meet the criticism of my wise friend and inspiring leader, who is priest of the mythological Nemi, and guardian of its "Golden Bough," until some one catches him unawares and dispossesses him. He tells me that he despairs of the solution of the riddle of the Greek Mythology, he who does not despair (and with better right than Haeckel) of the solution of the riddle of the Universe!

On the other hand, continues Dr. Harris, there are those who, having unfortunately been familiar with the Greek gods from their earliest years, and never really detached from traditional faith in them, cannot avoid contemplating the author of these lectures as an iconoclast, and put upon him the task, under which Socrates as well as the early Christians alike laboured, of proving to a suspicious bench of magistrates that they were really not atheists. So far from this being the case, it may be hoped that when one succeeds, if one does succeed, in evolving Artemis out of a wayside weed, or Aphrodite out of a cabbage, and, in general, all things lovely out of things that are not at first sight beautiful, one may claim to belong to the brotherhood, whatever its name may be, that has the vision of

That far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves.

The first volume of the new and standard edition of the "Odes

of Solomon," edited by Dr. Rendel Harris, and Dr. A. Mingana, made its appearance in October. It furnishes, for the first time, a facsimile of the original Syriac manuscript, now in the possession of the John Rylands Library, which is accompanied by a retranscribed text, with an attached critical apparatus.

The second volume, which may be looked for in the course of the year, will comprise a new translation of the "Odes" in English versicles, with brief comments by way of elucidation, an exhaustive introduction dealing with the variations of the fragment in the British Museum, with the original language, the probable epoch of their composition, their unity, the stylistic method of their first writer, the accessory patristic testimonies, a summary of the most important criticisms that have appeared since its first publication in 1909, a complete bibliography of the subject, and a glossary to the text.

The price of each volume is half-a-guinea net.

Elsewhere, in the present issue (pages 408-442), we print the fifth list of contributions to the new library for the University of Louvain. This does not by any means complete the record of gifts to date, but we are compelled, from considerations of space, to hold over a list of at least equal length of the more recent contributions until our next issue.

LOUVAIN
LIBRARY
RECON-
STRUCTION

In thanking the various donors for these generous and welcome expressions of interest in our scheme of reconstruction, we have taken the opportunity on another page to renew and to emphasize our appeal for offers of suitable books, or contributions of money, to assist us in this endeavour to restore, at least in some measure, the resources of the crippled and exiled University.

The "View of London, 1610," which faces page 218 in our last issue, was inadvertently described as by Hollar, whereas it is by Hondius.

A CORREC-
TION.

In a recent issue of the "Boston Evening Transcript," "the Bibliographer" calls attention to the discovery of a perfect copy of the first American edition of "The Pilgrim's Progress," the title-page of which reads:

THE FIRST
AMERICAN
EDITION OF
THE "PIL-
GRIM'S PRO-
GRESS".

The | Pilgrim's Progress | from | this World, | to
| That which is to come ; | Delivered under the
Similitude of a | DREAM. | Wherein is Discovered the
Manner | of his setting out, the dangerous | Journey, | and |

Safe Arrival at the Desired Countrey. | (Rule) | By John Bunyan. | (Rule) | I have used Similitudes. Hosea 12. 10. | (Rule) | Boston in New-England | Printed by Samuel Green upon As- | signment of Samuel Sewall : and | are to be sold by John Usher | of Boston. 1681.

By this discovery the Boston Public Library loses the distinction, it has enjoyed hitherto, of possessing the only known copy of this interesting edition of John Bunyan's "chef d'œuvre". This edition made its appearance three years after the publication of the original English edition, which was issued in 1678, and of which an excellent copy is preserved in the John Rylands Library. The copy of the American edition under notice measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and contains the two blank leaves preceding the title-page, the leaf of advertisements, and the blank leaf at the end. The advertisement leaf lends additional interest to the copy, since it includes the announcement of the original edition of "The Captivity of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson," of which apparently no copy is at present known to have survived.

We are indebted to the same writer for information concerning the fate of the Britwell Court collection of "Americana," purchased recently from Mr. Christie-Miller for Mr. Henry E. Huntington of New York. It would appear, that in purchasing the Britwell collection, Mr. Huntington was actuated by the same spirit which led the Second Earl Spencer, the founder of the famous Althorp Library, to ransack Europe in his eagerness to enrich his already famous collection with whatever was fine and rare, even to the purchase of duplicates, so that he might exercise the choice of copies. In this way he acquired entire libraries in order that he might improve his collection of early English books by the addition of specimens of famous presses not hitherto represented, and in some cases by the substitution of copies which were better than those he had previously possessed. If we may judge by Mr. Huntington's recent purchase he shares with the late Earl Spencer the appreciation of the external beauties of a choice book, with a just and keen estimate of its intrinsic merits. It was the practice of Lord Spencer after making these advantageous substitutions and additions, promptly to send the residue of his purchase to the auctioneers for sale. He never cherished the selfish delight of some

THE BRIT-
WELL
AMERI-
CAN.

eminent collectors in putting two identical copies of an extremely rare book on his own shelves, expressly in order that neither of them should fill a gap in the library of another collection.

In this respect, also, we venture to believe that Mr. Huntington has followed Lord Spencer's example in deciding to sell by auction the residue of the Britwell books, together with the substituted copies from his own library.

As we go to press, the welcome news of the fall of Baghdad reaches us, and considering the immeasurable importance of the event, we have thought it not inappropriate to ask Dr. Mingana to favour our readers with his views on certain aspects of its significance. Dr. Mingana writes with the authority of one who is intimately acquainted not only with the city of Baghdad, but also with the surrounding country of Mesopotamia, where he has spent a great part of his life.

THE
FALL OF
BAGHDAD.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CULT OF APHRODITE.¹

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., LITT.D., ETC.,

HON. FELLOW OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

WE have in previous essays shown that it was possible to dig down to the ground form of a number of the cults of the divinities which go to make up the Greek pantheon. Dionysus has been traced back to the ivy on the oak, and we can go no further in the direction of origins than this ; we are actually at the starting-point of the cult, whatever other elements, ritual or orgiastic, may be combined with the Ivy Cult. In the same way Apollo has been traced to the mistletoe on the apple-tree, which is a secondary form of the mistletoe on the oak, and we have shown that his skill as a healer and master in wizardry is due to the all-healing powers of his mistletoe and to certain other plants in his medical garden. From these conceptions the Apollo Cult must proceed, and although there is still some unresolved complexity in the cult, the major part of it is translucent enough. Artemis, too, with her woman's medicines, and garden of herbs helpful and of herbs hurtful, is now a much more intelligible figure, though still containing perplexities for further study and resolution. She, too, is, in the first instance, personified medicine.

We now pass on to the Cult of Aphrodite, and find ourselves face to face with a problem in which our previous investigations appear not to lend any assistance. She is a daughter of Zeus by tradition, apparently of Zeus and Dione, but there seems no way of attaching her to the sky, either bright or dark, or to the oak-tree, or to the woodpecker, or to the ivy or the mistletoe, or to a medical garden. Moreover, by common consent, she is ruled out of the company of gods with Greek originals. She is an immigrant in the Greek pantheon, an alien, however desirable, and however much at home. Her luggage has Cyprus labels on it, to say nothing of other islands where she has made stay ; and this has not unnaturally led to the view that she is Oriental and not Greek at all. In spite of the interest

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 17 October, 1916.



MANDRAKE

(From Sibthorp's "Flora Graeca")

- a* Calyx cum pistillo. *b* Corolla, arte explanata, cum staminibus. *c* Pistillum
seorsim. *d* Bacca matura. *e* Semen.

which she takes in other people's business, she has no direct cult-relations with the rest of the gods, she does not share temples nor honours except in rare and insignificant cases¹; her worship is conventional as far as the sacrifices are concerned, and no special animal, not even the dove, betrays by its presence the links which connect the great goddess of Love with her past: and yet we are sure that she had a past, even if we do not at first know in what direction to look for it. The Greek mythology tells us nothing: the poets play with her name and perpetrate philological impertinences to show why she is born of the foam (*ἀφρός*), and only lead us from the truth, instead of towards it, by their industrious myth-spinning. We evidently must begin this enquiry *de novo*, both as regards the ancient mythologists and their modern representatives. We will not even assume too hastily that she is a foreigner: for that requires the underlying assumption that the Greeks had no god or goddess of Love of their own and had no necessity for one, which I, for one, find extremely difficult to believe. Cyprus and Cythera may turn out to be not so far from the mainland after all: and even if she did originate in Cyprus or Cythera, we have still to be told the story of her birth. Is she a personified force of nature, a vegetable demon of fertility, some person or thing that makes for growth and multiplies products? Can we look on her as another view of the Corn-Mother, or as a spirit of physical inebriation, like Dionysos? or is it possible that she, too, may be like Apollo and Artemis, the virtue of a plant?

As we have said, her relation to Zeus is merely ornamental: so that if she has a vegetable origin, it can hardly be found in the oak or its parasites. It would have to be sought in that part of the botanical world that is supposed to have sexual virtues. Now a little enquiry into the history of medicine, which we have shown to be for the most part the history of plants, will tell us that the ancients were very interested in determining what plants would make people fall in love with one another; they used their observation leisurely and their imagination industriously, and in the end they evolved all that branch of magic which has for its object the manufacture of philtres and potions, and, as Falstaff would say, "medicines to make me love him".

¹ The case of Dodona is not included: for here Aphrodite is hardly to be distinguished from Dione; the Dodona Cult is about the oldest thing in Greek religion.

Now it is clearly not an impossible thing that Aphrodite may have something to do with this wizardry : and, therefore, we will not too hastily assume that she is altogether out of kinship with Apollo and Artemis-Hekaté. Something, for instance, of a medical nature must be involved in the fact that "at Oropus she shared an altar with Athena the healer, and the daughters of Asklepios".¹

We cannot, however, help feeling that this medical element which put her in the medical school of Athens is something unusual, and that she might more properly be called Panalgeia than Panakeia.

Suppose, now, we ask of the herbalist the question as to which of his simples is likely to operate most powerfully on the affections. If he belongs to the ancient world, he will reply without a moment's hesitation that Mandragora, or Mandrake, is the thing for our money : if he belong to the modern world, he will say that mandragora is only an opiate and not a stimulant. We leave the modern wizards on one side, and interrogate the ancient. What have they to say of this "drowsy syrup" ? The answer is full and marvellous. The mandrake is a root which shrieks terribly when you pull it out of the ground ; it is, indeed, so dangerous that you must not try to pull it : better tie a dog to the stalk and then entice the dog towards you with a *bonne bouche* : stop your ears by way of precaution, and use your eyes to see the last dying agonies of the dog who has pulled the root for you. Then go and pick it up. To your surprise, you will find the root to have a human form, sometimes male, and sometimes female : it is, in fact, like Falstaff's "forked radish," a little parody of man : for the description of the youthful Justice Shallow as a "forked radish" led on to the comparison of him with a mandrake. The experts will tell you that it is rarely to be found except under the gallows, and that it is the humours and juices of the suspended person, especially if the victim of the law be innocent, that have given it the human form.

Naturally one asks whether this is really ancient lore : is it not a myth made in English out of the first syllable of mandrake ? Then we recall how Medea, when she wished to make Jason secure from the brazen bulls that breathed fire on him, supplied him with an unguent made from a flower that had been fed with the ichor of the

¹ Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 657.

innocent, martyred Prometheus ; so we feel certain that we are, in the main, dealing with primitive matters.

So we must interrogate the herbalists and see where mandrake is to be found, and what can be done with it when you find it. The first thing one comes across is the well-known story in Genesis where little Reuben brings home to his mother Leah some pretty apples which he has found in the field : and Leah, who has no special need for such stimulants, trades them off to her sister Rachel for a consideration. The same love-apples turn up among the flora of the Song of Solomon, where we learn that in the spring-time they give an agreeable scent, a point upon which all nasal artists are not by any means agreed.¹ Let us see what old Gerarde has to say on the question of Mandrake : he tells us (p. 357) : " There hath been many ridiculous tales brought up of this plant, whether of old wives, or some runnagate surgeons, or physicke-mongers I know not (a title bad enough for them) but sure some one or moe that sought to make themselves famous or skilful above others were the first brochers of that error I speake of : [the supposed human form of the Mandrake]. They adde further that it is never, or very seldome, to be found growing naturally but under a gallowse, where the matter that hath fallen from the dead body hath given it the shape of a man ; and the matter of a woman the substance of a female plant, with many other such doltish dreams. They fable further and affirme, That he who would take up a plant thereof must tie a dog thereunto to pull it up, which will give a great shreeke at the digging up : otherwise if a man should do it, he should surely die in short space after. Besides many fables of loving matters, too full of scurrilitie to set forth in print, which I forbear to speak of. All which dreames and old wives tales you shall from henceforth cast out of your books and memory ; knowing this, that they are all and everie part of them false and most untrue : for I myselfe and my servants also have digged up, planted and replanted very many, and yet never could either perceiue shape of man or woman, but sometimes one straight root, sometimes two, and often six or seven branches coming from the maine great root, even as Nature list to bestow upon

¹Howbeit Levinus Lemnius saith, in his discourse on the *Secret Miracles of Nature*, that the " male Mandrake beareth a lovely pleasant and sweet-scented Apple, like to the yelk of a Hen's Egg, by the enticement whereof Rachel was allured " (p. 264, Anglicè).

it, as to other plantes. But the idle drones that have little or nothing to do but eate and drinke, have bestowed some of the time in carving the roots of Brionie, forming them to the shape of men and women : which falsifying practise hath confirmed the error amongst the simple and unlearned people, who have taken them upon their report to be true Mandrakes."

Evidently we want to know some of the fables of loving matters, to which Gerarde refers. Meanwhile, we note that this story of plant-extraction by dogs is a very old belief. That it was, in early times, considered dangerous to dig up the plants may be seen from the directions which Pliny gives to the excavators to keep to the windward of the plant, and then, after tracing round it three circles with the sword, to dig it up with one's face turned to the West.¹

As to the supposed virtues of the plant which Gerarde derides, it is sufficient to establish the antiquity of the belief in them, and we can then safely infer a corresponding antiquity of the associated practices.

Dioscorides lets the cat out of the bag by saying² that some people call the mandrake by the name Circaea, because its root is thought to be an efficacious philtre :—

ἐπειδὴ δοκεῖ ἡ ῥίζα φίλτρων εἶναι ποιητική.

Theophrastus has the same statement, and appears to be the source from which Pliny took his account of the manner of obtaining the root :—

περιγράφειν δὲ καὶ τὸν μανδραγόραν εἰς τρεῖς ξίφει, τέμνειν δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν βλέποντα· τὸν δ' ἕτερον κύκλῳ περιορχεῖσθαι, καὶ λέγειν ὡς πλεῖστα περὶ ἀφροδισίων.

Theophrastus : *De genere plantarum*.

We are to talk love at the top of our bent when digging the love-apple. So we need have no hesitation in saying that the mandrake was the love-apple of the ancients. Its Hebrew name *Dudai* is referred to the same stem (Dōd or Dōdō) from which the beloved *David* and *Dido* come, and gives the sense of fruit-of-love or love-apple exactly,

¹ Pliny, *H.N.* xxv. 13 (94). Cf. the cutting of the mistletoe on the sacred oak of Errol after it has been gone round three times sun-wise. Cf. also Theophrastus, *infra*.

² Diosc., *De Mat. Med.* iv. 76.



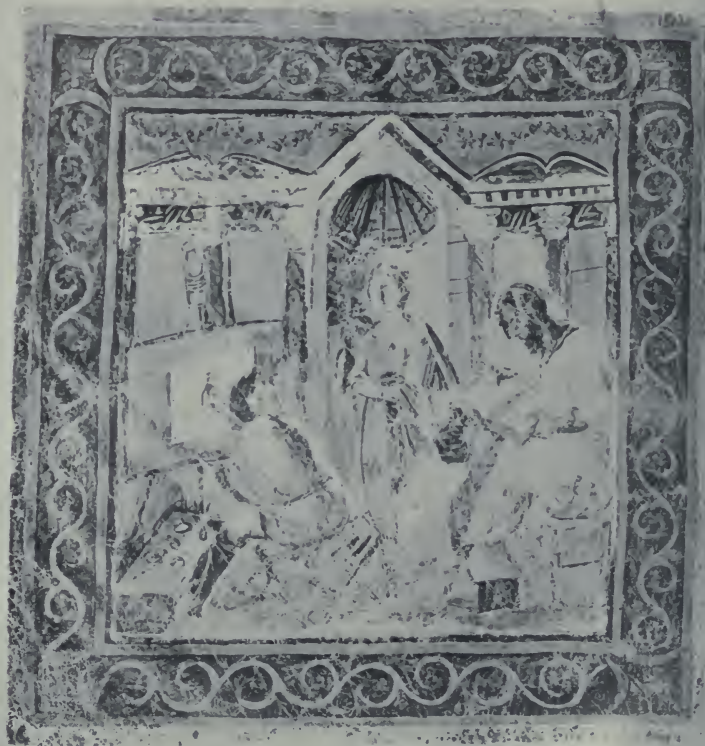
DISCOVERY PRESENTING THE MANDRAKE TO DIOSCORIDES
(From the Leiden Facsimile of the "Vienna Dioscorides")



ΚΥΩΝ ΑΝΟΣΩΓΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΜΟΝΟΡΑΦΟΝ ΕΠΑΓ' ΑΠΟ ΘΗΪΚΩΝ.

DISCOVERY PRESENTING THE MANDRAKE TO DIOSCORIDES

(From the "Vienna Dioscorides," as reproduced in Lambecius' "Commentariorum . . .")



DISCOVERY HOLDING THE MANDRAKE
(From the Leiden Facsimile of the "Vienna Dioscorides")



DISCOVERY HOLDING THE MANDRAKE

(From the "Vienna Dioscorides," as reproduced in Lambecius' "Commentariorum . . .")

especially when we note how the Septuagint translate the *Dudaim* by the term *μῆλα μανδραγόρων* or *mandrake-apples*. The fruit is not unlike a yellow apple in appearance, and Parkinson says it is "Of the bigness of a reasonable pippin and as yellow as gold when it is thoroughly ripe".¹ Parkinson follows Gerarde in his scorn for the popular beliefs in the physical effects of the mandrake in other than soporific directions, but while he refuses to go into the matter in detail, and tells us to consult Matthiolus if we want to know, he lets us incidentally into one little secret, by saying² that "great and strange effects are supposed to be in the Mandrake to cause women to be fruitfull and to beare children, *if they shall but carry the same neare unto their bodies*". Evidently the plant was worn as a charm about the waist, or in the girdle, and could produce its effect without being taken internally either as root or apple.

Our next question is whether this love-apple can in any way be connected with Aphrodite, in the same way as we connected Apollo with the apple and the mistletoe and Artemis with the mugwort. The answer comes from an unexpected quarter. Hesychius has amongst his glosses an explanation of the term *μανδραγορίτις* (*She of the Mandrake*) and he interprets it to mean Aphrodite.

That would be quite conclusive if it were not for the fact that it is preceded by another gloss to the effect that *Μανδράγορος* means Zeus. We find accordingly,

Μανδράγορας = Zeus.

Μανδραγορίτις = Aphrodite.

Clearly we have to explain why Zeus is "He of the mandrake," as well as why Aphrodite is the lady of the mandrake. At first sight this looks difficult. It almost requires a Zeus-Aphroditos which would, to the ancient world, sound like a contradiction in terms.

Evidently, then, we do not yet know the ancient mind with regard to the plant with sufficient accuracy, and we must delve a little deeper and employ a little more canine skill in the extraction of the root. We shall discover that the mandrake was regarded by the early botanists as existing in two species, which they called *male* and *female*³; next, that when you pulled a mandrake, the human form

¹ *Theatr. Botan.* p. 343.

² *l.c.* p. 353.

³ Thus Levinus Lemnius: "Theophrastus and other searchers into the nature of plants have wisely divided them into Males and Females, by the

which you extracted was, again, either male or female ; and lastly, that Aphrodite herself had a cult-figure, according to which she was both male and female, and this representation existed in Cyprus, the original home of the goddess : to which may be added the fact that the persons who traded off fictitious mandrakes on a too credulous world adorned their frauds with hair and beard after the fashion of the Cypriote image already referred to.

We begin with Aphrodite and her possible bi-sexuality. Macrobius tells us as follows :—¹

Signum autem eius est Cypri barbatum corpore, sed vesti muliebri, cum sceptro ac natura virili ; et putant eandem marem ac feminam esse. Aristophanes eam Ἀφρόδιτον appellat. Laevius etiam sic ait : Venerem igitur almus adorans, sive femina sive mas est, ita uti alma Noctiluca est.

Here we have some astonishing statements. A bearded Venus in Cyprus, hardly female at all except for her dress : thought indeed by the Cypriotes to be both male and female. It is the plant evidently that is responsible for this ambiguity : and Macrobius goes on to quote a jest of Aristophanes about Aphroditos, and a statement of another author about the adoration of an *almus* Venus (male or female, fish or flesh as the case may be), and concerning her shining by night. Here again, we seem to be on the track of the plant ; Venus is affirmed to shine by night, as in the case of the magic fern-seed, and other treasure-disclosing vegetables.²

reason that some are fruitful and bear seed, but others are barren and bring forth none. . . . The Female Mandragora is either barren or bears very small fruit.”—*Secret Miracles of Nature*, p. 264.

¹ *Sat.* iii. 8, 3.

² That there was a bearded goddess in Cyprus is also attested by Hesychius, who reports that the author of the history of Amathus in Cyprus says that the goddess was represented in the Island in the form of a man :—

Ἀφρόδιτος· ὁ δὲ τὰ περὶ Ἀμαθούντα γεγραφὼς
ἄνδρα τὴν θεὸν ἐσχημάτισθαι ἐν Κύπρῳ λέγει·

Hesychius, s.v. Ἀφρόδιτος.

For the goddess' beard we have also the attestation of Suidas :—

Ἀφροδίτη· πλάττουσι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ γένειον ἔχουσαν.

Hesychius also points out that it is this bearded Aphroditos that gave rise to the later Hermaphroditos, which leads us to infer that the mandragoras which Hesychius identifies with Zeus ought more correctly to have been called Hermes.

Meanwhile, there is no need to trouble any further over Hesychius and his *Zeus Mandragoras* : he is only the conjugate of the vegetable Aphrodite : a male counterpart had to be found for the plant of inconstant sex, and Zeus will do for this requirement quite as well as, shall we say, Hermes.¹ We may, therefore, identify Aphrodite with the mandrake, provided we can carry back the traditions to a sufficiently early date ; for of course we must not manufacture early deities out of late folk-lore. That the mandrake is man-formed is, certainly, a very early tradition. Dioscorides tells us that Pythagoras called it *ἄνθρωπόμορφον*. The same writer tells us that the Romans called the fruit *mala canina*, which betrays the tale of its extraction by a dog.

The reference to the human form of the mandrake is due, in the first instance, to the bifurcation of the root (cf. the "forked radish"

Servius on Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 632, has the same tradition of the bearded goddess, and discusses the use of the masculine *θεός* as applied to a goddess : as follows :—

Ac ducente deo : secundum eos qui dicunt utriusque sexus participationem habere numina. nam et Calvus : *pollentemque Deum Venerem*. item Vergilius (vii. 498) : *nec dextrae erranti deus abfuit* : cum aut Juno fuerit, aut Aleto. est etiam in Cypro simulacrum barbatae Veneris [corpore et veste muliebri cum sceptro et natura virili ;] quod *Ἀφρόδιτον* vocatur, (cui viri in veste muliebri, mulieres in virili veste sacrificant ; quanquam veteres *deum* pro magno numine dicebant. Sallustius : *ut tanta mutatio non sine deo videretur*) et hoc ad Graecorum imitationem, qui *ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἡ θεὸς* dicunt, sicut *ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἡ ἄνθρωπος*, vir et femina.

It is interesting that, according to Servius, the image of the goddess is called *Ἀφρόδιτον*.

¹ The reason why Zeus was selected as the male consort may, however, be divined with some degree of probability. If Aphrodite was to have a consort in Cyprus it should certainly have been Adonis. Now if we look at Dioscorides and his description of the male and female mandrake, we shall find him speaking of a third variety which he calls *μόριον* (morian). This mysterious *μόριον* is nothing else but the Syriac word for "Our Lord" transliterated into Greek, and in Cyprus its proper equivalent is Adonis. Apparently someone has misunderstood the reference and called the mandrake by the name of Zeus, to whom the term "Our Lord" might more properly be held to apply. So we suspect that originally the male and female mandrake were Adonis and Aphrodite. The difficulty is that in the popular tradition Adonis has not yet developed a beard. (If our interpretation is right, it will carry with it the meaning of Adonis-town for the Cypriote city Marion, near to Amathus, where the bearded goddess was worshipped. In Amathus itself, according to Pausanias (9, 41, 2), the goddess and Adonis had one temple).

of Shakespeare)¹; it was this bifurcation that led to the finding of a head and arms in the plant to match the legs and all other necessary accessories. Columella accordingly described the root as half-human.

Quamvis semihominis vesano gramine foeta
Mandragorae pariat flores.

De re rustica, x. 19, 20.

But what appeared to the philosopher as manlike, and to the professor of agriculture as half-human, was easily carried by the vulgar into a more exact delineation of the human form.

Thus in the earlier printed herbals we have actual representations of the emerging human forms, as the plant is plucked out of the ground. The *Hortus sanitatis*, for example, of 1491 gives us the accompanying representations, which have mythology written across their very face. One can see Aphrodite rising out of the ground a great deal more clearly than the Greeks saw her rising out of the sea.

We must not say that our ancestors had nothing to work upon in their representations. If we were to consult Sibthorp's splendid volumes on the Greek Flora, we should find a picture of the mandrake, root and all, which is really not unsuggestive of the lower part of the human anatomy. Our frontispiece shows a copy of the plate in Sibthorp from which it can be judged whether I have overstated the case. One way of determining the hold which the ideas about the mandrake had upon the human mind is to watch the efforts which the more scientific herbalists make to shake these beliefs off. We have already alluded to Gerarde: here is an extract from Parkinson who insists that there is no danger in the extraction of the root, and nothing human in its shape. In his *Garden of Pleasant Flowers* (A.D. 1629), much of which is repeated in the *Theatrum Botanicum*, we find as follows:—

“The Mandrake is distinguished into two kinds, the male and the female; the male hath two sorts, the one differing from the other, as shall be shewed, but of the female I know but one. The male is frequent in many gardens, but the female in that it is more tender

¹ Dodonaeus, *Hist. of Plants*, p. 437: “The roote is great and white, not muche unlyke a Radishe roote, divided into two or three partes, and sometimes growing one upon another, almost lyke the thighes and legges of a man”.

- 7^m Placarus differ vanden als groif als dry keller gewicht gebat
 ten für die schenck der frauwen bringet menstrui vñ dryket vñ das
 9^m dor hnt. 3 Dis vnden gestouffen zu puluer vnd genuzet mit eys
 nem elstier machet flausen vnd rüwen für alle ander künst.
 10^m Item dis würtzel gesotten in wyn vñ vñ das gegicht gelert der
 gleder ist den wethum stillen.



mādragoza

Capitulum

M Andrago
 Sie mei
 lichen das
 selbe dogent mit
 vñd beschreibe ich
 wan als du gehs
 pitel für dissem.

alrun·fraw ·reelun·

ra mulier latine.
 sier sprechen gemeß
 dis alrun habe die
 der ersten vñd dar
 nit meen dar vort
 ret haust in dem cas

MANDRAKE (FEMALE)

(From the German "Herbarius". Mainz : Schoeffer, 1485)



Mādragora Capitulum

M Andragora
mon uel cir
rat | Die

meylich daz zweyer
Eyn der man. Die
In de büch genant
ben vns die meyster
dragora sy hāt vñ
ten grade. Vnd diß
ge des meisters Aui
hait spizer bletter
lich meyster spreche
nutzet werde in der
menlich. ader wie dē
die alle kēde vñ baz
tuer. **Z** Irē die mei
auch in de büch cir
chen daz diß wūrz
den vñ geformet
schen als mannen
spreche die meyster
warbeyt vff ym ha
meret sur vñ solich
nit in der erde sinder sie werde gemacht vō kunsten vñ also geitalt.

alrun Man ·telvij·

latine grece anti
ceon arabice lebde
meister spreche ges
hand sy dar alrun
ander die frauwe
circa instas k schri
vñ spreche daz mā
drucken an dē drit
ist auch die meynū
cenne. Die frauwe
wan der man. Er
daz die freulich ge
argny vnd nit die
sy so bruchet man
ken dynakē ey nā
ster k schriben vns
ca instas vñ spre
geln vkauffet wer
sint glich dē men
vñ frauwe. Dar zū
daz ey solichē ley
ke vñ nit also for
wūrzeln wachsen



Tractatus

Alia species q̄ nōlatur narbus ad ministrat a chirurgicis q̄ volunt membrū aliquod incidere. 7 q̄ bibi solat q̄ d' suffocās ei est tyriaca. **M** Et idē auct. Rasis. Dixit mihi qdā ex antiqs babylonie. q̄ qdam p̄nella p̄medit quinq; poma mādragore. 7 cecidit sine copizata. et tota effecra est rubicūda. et quidē supueniens effudit sup̄ caput ei⁹ a q̄ nimis donec surrexit. **D** Et ego vidi hōiē q̄ sumpsit de radice eius cā impingūdi. et accidit eis sicut accidē solz hōibus ingredi entibus balneum et bibētib⁹ post exitum vinū multū. nā facit fuit cultus eoz nimis rubicundus. **P** Et idem auct. dyas. Radicē mādragore multi dāt ad amorē.



Ca. cclxxvij.

Andragora femine. Serrap̄. anet. dyas. Et femie color est niger 7 nominatur landachis siue bādachis antlactica. Nā in folijs ei⁹ est similitudo cū folijs lactuce. 7 sunt pinguis q̄vis odoris. 7 extendunt sup̄ faciem tene. i medio

folioz eius est simile mēspili 7 est losach. 7 citrini colo. hīs odorē bonū. 7 itra ipz sunt grana similia granis piroz. 7 habet radices magnas mediocter duas l'tres adherentes inuicē exteri⁹ nigras 7 interi⁹ albas. sup̄ q̄s est cortex grossus. Et hec species mandragore non habet stipitem

Operationes.

A Mandragora fortissimi odoris est. ab hōine ieiuno nō colligit. **H** Tri usq; vis vna est. Hec cum polēra trita ser uores oculoꝝ 7 dolores aurīū sedat. **R** Radix eius cū aceto trita 7 illita ignem sacrum curat. **A** Zuccenna. Mandragora somnū puocat. Et q̄n ponit in vino vehementer inebriat. Multusq; vsus ei⁹ 7 odoramentū. faciūt apoplexiā. **L**ac eius euellit lentigines. et pannū sine mordicatōe. Soluēdo āt educit colerā 7 flegma. **F** Radix eius trita et cū aceto imposita sup̄ herispilam sanat eā. Semen eius matricem mundificat. xl vomitum prouocat.



Tractatus



Ca. cc lxxv.

Manna: vta it Pluicenna est ros ca-
dens super lapidem. ⁊ plantas. et
habet plures species. ⁊ denotata
est terentabin. ⁊ siracost. ⁊ succaz haoser
est de speciebus eius. Est ait Pluicenna.
Manna diuersificatur fin diuersitatem
rerum sup q̄s cadit recipiens ab eis diuer-
sitates ⁊ vtutes. apud nos vidi duas spe-
cies. vna quaz est granulosa non piuncta
granulis. alia p̄globata q̄ arificio magis
videat̄ sophisticata ex zuccaro cocta et fo-
lijs sene quoz frustula inmixta vident̄ sa-
poram. (qui sene ostendit Vera: si aggre-
cap. meni. manna est ca. ⁊ abstergit ⁊ la-
uat. ⁊ est ca. in p̄mo gradu r̄para hūidita-
te ⁊ siccitate. Est idem auct: Rasis dixit q̄
vem m̄ana cadit sup arborem q̄ d̄r tama-
riscus sicut mel. ⁊ q̄n facit moram sup plā-
tam illam albescit. sed quando ibi nō mo-
ratur. sed colligitur cito cum folio eius est
viridis. M̄lior ex ea est cuius color ē cla-
rus appropinquas albedini: ⁊ h̄z parum

ruboris. Pliniusi Manna est omnis ros
cadens sup lapides aut arborem ⁊ fit dul-
cis ⁊ coagulatur sicut mel. Et exsiccat sicut
gummi quemadmodum tereniabin. Est
alia species q̄ vocat̄ tereniabin. p̄ quale
ge capitulū. Tereniabin.

Operationes.

A Berapion. auct. Rasis: Que de spo-
cadit sup arborem tamarisci est bona tu-
ssi. ⁊ asperitate pectoris. Colligit eā Ras
⁊ dixit q̄ manna cadit sup arbore q̄ d̄r Ta-
mariscus sicut mel. **B** Est idem auct.
Habix. Est ca. in fine p̄mi siccā p̄inquas
caliditati. p̄fert relaxatōi stomachi. ⁊ ab-
stringit venter. ⁊ puenit aq̄ citrine quā
do bibitur de ea. emplastrū venter. et in-
greditur in medicinis apostematū. **E**
Est exsiccat catarr̄ q̄n fit caput purgum.
q̄m mūdicat cerebr̄ ⁊ expellit ab eo ven-
rositate ḡllam: **P** Est fortificat medi-
cinas q̄n miscet̄ cū eis in potionib⁹ et ca-
put purgum. ⁊ delet a p̄ara flegmatica. ⁊ in-
fletur in p̄fectionibus p̄pter exellēs iuy-
mentum quod est in ea.



and rare, is noursed up but in few. . . . The roote is long and thicke, blackish on the outside and white within, consisting many times but of one long roote, and sometimes divided into two branches, a little below the head, and sometimes into three or more, as nature listeth to bestow upon it, as my selfe have often seene by the transplanting of many parts of the rootes, but never found harm in so doing, as many idle tales have been set down in writing, and delivered up also by report, of much danger to happen to such as should digge them up or break them ; neyther have I ever seene any forme of man-like or woman-like parts, in the rootes of any ; but as I have said, it hath oftentimes two maine roots running down right into the ground, and sometimes three, and sometimes but one, as it likewise often happeneth to parsneps, carrots, and the like. But many counterfeit roots have been shaped to such forms, and publicly exposed to the view of all that would see them, and have been tolerated by the chief magistrates of this citty, notwithstanding that they have been informed that such practices were meere deceit and insufferable ; whether this happened through their over credulitie of the thing or of the persons, or through an opinion that the information of the truth rose upon envy, I know not, I leave that to the searcher of all hearts. But this you may be bold to rest upon and assure yourselves, that such formes as have bin publickly exposed to be seene, were never so formed by nature, but only by the art and cunning of knaves and deceivers, and let this be your *Galeatum* against all such vaine, idle and ridiculous toyes of men's inventions."

These be very bitter words. Let us see what the knaves and deceivers had actually been doing, animated, no doubt, by a shortage in the supply of mandrake from the Mediterranean or the Levant.

Matthioli, from whom much in Parkinson and Gerarde is derived, tells us the story of a man whom he cured in the spital at Rome of a certain disease, who in gratitude confided to him the secret of the manufacture of fictitious mandrakes ; he said that he made them out of bryony roots, and sold them to ladies desirous of offspring ; in order to produce the proper hair and beards and the like, which a true mandrake ought to show, he used to plant little grains of millet in artificial hollows of the root, and bury the root again until the millet seeds had sprouted and thrown out the necessary hirsute additions to

the root that was to go upon the market.¹ These attempts at producing a bearded mandrake, etc., are instructive: they show us what was the popular acceptance of the plant, and help us again to understand the bearded Venus of Cyprus of whom Macrobius speaks. Matthioli does not, like his followers, deny the bifurcation of the root, though he does deny the existence of the human form in the mandrake. As his account is valuable because of the traditions which it gathers up, I transcribe the main body of his statement on the mandrake.

Matthioli, *Comm. in lib. quartum Dioscoridis*, pp. 759 ff. Mandragorae utrumque genus frequens nascitur in compluribus Italiae locis, praesertim in Apulia Gargano monte, unde radicum cortices, et poma herbarii quotannis ad nos convehunt. Habentur et in viridariis spectaculi gratia: etenim Neapoli, Romae et Venetiis utramque mandragoram in hortis et vasis fictilibus satam vidimus. Sed profecto vanum ac fabulosum est, quod mandragorae radices ferant, quae humanam effigiem repraesentant, ut ignarum vulgus, et simplices mulierculae certo credunt et affirmant. Quibus etiam persuasum est, eas effodi nequaquam posse, nisi cum magno vitae periculo, cane qui effodiat radicibus adalligato, et auribus pice obturatis, ne radicis clamorem audiant effodientes, quod audita voce periclitentur pereantque fossores. Quippe radices illae, quae humanam formam referunt, quas impostores ac nebulones quidam venales circumferunt, infoecundas mulieres decepturi, factitiae sunt ex harundinum, bryoniae, aliarumque plantarum radicibus. Sculpunt enim in his adhuc virentibus tam virorum quam mulierum formas, infixis hordii et milii granis, iis in locis, ubi pilos exoriri volunt; deinde facta scrobe tamdiu tenui sabulo obruunt, quousque grana illa radices emittant; id quod fiet viginti ad summum dierum spatio. Eruunt eas demum, et adnatas e granis radices acutissimo cultello scindunt, aptantque ita ut capillos, barbam et ceteros corporis pilos referant. Hujus sane rei certam fidem facere possum, quod cum Romae essem, impostorem quendam circumforaneum lue Gallica correptum nobis curare contigit, qui praeter alias innumeras imposturas, quibus circumventis hominibus, multam pecuniam extorquens, docuit et artem qua factitias sibi comparabat Mandragoras, quarum complures mihi demonstravit, asserens unam tantum interdum divitibus vendidisse quinque et viginti, nonnunquam etiam triginta aureis. Quamobrem nos, qui omnium utilitati et saluti quantum possumus consulimus, haec silentio haudquaquam involvenda duximus, ut palam omnibus fiat, quibus fallaciis et fraudibus maximo cum detrimento, et vitae saepe discrimine, homines ab iis impostoribus et nebulonibus decipiantur. Qui ut antiquorum quoque autoritate suas imposturas abstruant, praedicant Pythagoram vocasse Mandragoram anthro-

¹ So Bacon, *Natural History* (ed. Spedding, 2, 533): "Some plants there are, but rare, that have a mossy or downy root; and likewise *that have a number of threads, like beards*; as mandrakes, whereof witches and impostors make an ugly image, giving it the form of a face at the top of the root, and leaving those strings to make a broad beard down to the foot".

pomorphon, quod eam humanam formam reddere coluerint. Verum sciendum est, non sine rationi mandragoram ita a Pythagora dictam fuisse: quippe quod in universum omnes fere mandragorae radices a medio ad imum bifurcatae proveniant, adeo ut crura hominum modo habere videantur. Quapropter si illo effodientur tempore, quo fructum gerunt, qui mali instar super folia ad terram procumbentia brevi pediculo appensus, parum a radice distat, hominis qui brachia desint effigiem quadantenus repraesentant. Hanc quidem rem nulli, quod sciam, vel pauci sunt, qui recte acceperunt. . . . Sed ut ad fabulam illam redeamus quae periculum denuntiat ignaris radices mandragora effodere volentibus . . . ea mihi quidem desumta videntur a Flavio Josepho, etc.

It is amusing to find that Matthiolus thought that he could explain a world-wide (or almost world-wide) piece of folk-tradition by a reference to Josephus. It will be well to emphasise the diffusion of the belief in the digging of the mandrake and its dangers both chronologically and territorially. For instance, Josephus with his story of the digging of a root which he calls Baaras must be taken as evidence of the folk-lore of Palestine. He does not seem to identify the Baaras with the mandrake, and no one seems to know about it, nor whether it is used as a love-philtre, or only for medical purposes and associated magic. He seems to think that the plant is named after a place near the castle of Machaerus on the Dead Sea, where John the Baptist was incarcerated; the root had a colour like flame, and towards evening sent out a ray like lightning. We naturally compare stories of the fern-seed, and of the Aphrodite Noctiluca, referred to above. There was danger in extracting the root, but, says Josephus, there was a safe way of getting it: "They dig a trench quite round it till the hidden part of the root is very small, then they tie a dog to it, and when the dog tries hard to follow him that tied him, this root is easily plucked up, but the dog dies immediately, as it were, instead of the man that would take the plant away; nor after this would any one be afraid of taking it into their hands. . . . If it be only brought to sick persons, it quickly drives away those called demons, which are no other than the spirits of the wicked, which enter into men that are alive, and kill them, unless they can obtain some help against them."¹

It certainly looks as if it were the mandrake that Josephus and his dog had been extracting, and using as a charm against evil spirits. The same belief was noted last century in the furthest parts of Armenia.

¹ Jos., *Bell. Jud.* vii. 6, 3.

In 1822 there was published in London a translation of an Armenian work called the *Memoirs of the Life of Artemi of Wagarshapat near Mt. Ararat in Armenia*. In this work (p. 99) we find as follows: "In the vicinity of the Uschakar are found two remarkable roots. With one called *toron* is made a red colour, which is used in Russia: and the Russian name of which is *Morena*: the other, *laschtak* or *manrakor* (mandrake), bears an exact resemblance to the human figure and is used by us medicinally. It grows pretty large. A dog is usually employed to draw it out of the ground; for which purpose the earth is first dug from about it, and a dog being fastened to it by a string, is made to pull till the whole of the root is extracted. The reason of this is, according to the current report, that if a man were to pull up this root he would infallibly die, either on the spot or in a very short time; and it is also said that when it is drawn out the moan of a human voice is always heard, but I cannot answer for the truth of these circumstances, as I never witnessed them, nor indeed do I myself believe them." Here we have the same folk-tradition tinged with incipient rationalism that we detected in the English herbals, and it is expressly said that the root extracted is the mandrake.

Here is a story which seems to suggest that the mandrake tradition was, till recently, extant in Cyprus itself, which for our purposes in the interpretation of Aphrodite, is its natural home.

"I entered into conversation," says Mr. Hume in one of his journals, "with a Russian who had studied medicine in Padua, and was now settled in Limosol in Cyprus. In giving me an account of the curiosities which he possessed he mentioned to me a root, in some degree resembling a human body, for at one end it was forked, and had a knob at the other which represented the head, with two sprouts immediately below it for the arms. This wonderful root he had dug up, he said, in the Holy Land, with no little risque, for the instant it appeared above ground it killed two dogs, and would have killed him also had he not been under the influence of magic."¹

Evidently the Russian doctor at Limosol was treating his guest to some of the fancies of that end of the Levant, and retailing mandragora stories as they were in circulation in times long anterior to his own. He may have even picked them up in Cyprus itself.

¹ Quoted in Walpole, *Memoirs of Travels in Turkey*.

We have now shown sufficiently the diffusion of the legend of the mandrake in the Eastern end of the Mediterranean ; its original home being certainly not far from Cyprus, the traditional centre of the Cult of Aphrodite. Down into the Middle Ages the herbalists tell us that the mandrake was imported, seeds, roots, and fruits, from that part of the world. For example, Bauhinus in his *History of Plants* (A.D. 1651) tells us that the flowers and fruits of the mandrake are produced in Italy, France, and Spain from seeds and roots imported from Crete and the Cyclades.¹

We come now to a curious alternative in the classification of the varieties of the mandrake by the early Greek magicians and doctors. A reference to Dioscorides² will show that a division into male and female was accompanied by another into black and white. The female was black and the male was white. The herbalists speculate on the reason of this division and suppose that the colour of the leaves or of the root is involved : what concerns us is not the reason for the colour assigned, but a certain consequence that ought to result from the description. If the colour has been accepted by the ancients as a part of the botanical summary, we ought to expect that, corresponding to the female mandrake, there would be a black Aphrodite : and not only so, but since we have assigned Cyprus as the home of the mandrake cult, at least for Greek religion, we ought to find the black Aphrodite in Cyprus. Now let us see what we actually do find. There are traces of the existence of a black Aphrodite in Thessaly, (among the Thesprotians) and again by a fountain in Arkadia near Mantinea : there is also a black Aphrodite in Corinth. In each case, the title of the goddess is *Melainis*. The title "the black lady" suggests a cult that is in some way connected with the world below.

Now, with regard to this cult, we are told by John Lydus³ that the rites which characterised it were transferred from Corinth to Cyprus, a statement which implies the existence of the black goddess in Cyprus, though we are not bound to accept the inference as to the direction in which the transfer was made. The passage referred to is as follows :—

¹ He professes (vol. iii. p. 617) to be quoting from Lobelius : "In Italiae provinciae Narbonae et Hispaniae hortis florem malaque maurant, semine aut radicibus ex Candia et Cycladibus insulis advectis, ut scribit Lobelius."

² *De. Mat. Med.* iv. 76.

³ *Joh. Lyd.*, 4, 45.

ἐν δὲ Κύπρῳ πρόβατον κωδίῳ ἐσκεπασμένον συνέθουν τῇ, Ἀφροδίτῃ· ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἱερατείας ἐντῇ Κύπρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Κορίνθου παρῆλθέ ποτε. i.e. they used also to sacrifice to Aphrodite in Cyprus a sheep, wrapped in its fleece ; and the form of the Cypriote ritual must have been introduced at some time or other from Corinth.

Here we must make a correction to the text which talks of the sacrifice of a sheep wrapped in its fleece. It was the worshipper that was wrapped in the fleece, and who identified himself with his offering by throwing the fleece over his head and shoulders, or by kneeling upon it. We must read, then, ἐσκεπασμένοι for ἐσκεπασμένον.¹ It seems, then, that we have recovered the cult of the black Aphrodite in Cyprus, and a fragment of the associated ritual. We need not, then, hesitate to draw conclusion from the black mandrake to the black goddess. They are the same.

The result has an interesting corollary. It is well known that there exist in some Christian Churches statues of a black Virgin, endowed liberally by the Church with the power of working miracles. One in S.E. France is especially noteworthy. It has been common amongst archæologists to assume that we have here a survival of the miracle-working images of Isis, converted to Christian use, as in many similar cases. It appears, however, from our investigation, that there is no need to go to Egypt for the required sanctity ; it may very well have been current in the local worship of Aphrodite.²

If we may judge by the comparison between the little chapel of the Black Lady at Corinth as compared with the general devotion to her white sister, the black Aphrodite is not a cult figure of any prominence : she came into existence to personify one aspect of a magical plant, and would easily become a witch of the deadlier kind, and consort with Hekaté or Medea in her darker moods. In tracing her to Cyprus and possibly to Dodona (for the Thesprotian Cult probably derives from thence) we do not mean to suggest that either in Cyprus or in Dodona the white Aphrodite was not overwhelmingly the predominant one. It is, perhaps, this darker side of the cult which

¹ I see that the proposed correction had already been suggested by Robertson Smith, and wrongly rejected by Mr. A. B. Cook. See his paper on *Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age* in J.H.S. xiv. 106 and n. 145.

² For the reference to local cults, take Pausanias, 9, 27, 4 ; 8, 6, 2, and 2, 2, 4 ; Athenaeus, 13, 588.

was responsible for the goddess being regarded in some quarters as a *ψυχοπόμπος*, a guide of souls to the other world.

As soon as we have satisfied ourselves that Aphrodite was originally a witch, and not a courtesan, we are almost obliged to infer that, like the other witch-goddesses, she had a garden of her own, in which grew her mandrake and other rarities and specialities.

It is not difficult to detect the literary reference to such gardens, though they usually appear as mere pleasure-gardens of a disreputable type. It may, however, be seen that this is not the whole of the story. For instance, Ovid tells us that the apples which beguiled Atalanta in her race, were gathered by Aphrodite herself from her own garden at Tamassos in Cyprus :—

Est ager, indigenae Tamassorum nomine dicunt,
Telluris Cypriae pars optima, quam mihi prisci
Sacravere senes, templisque accedere dotem
Hanc jussere meis; medio nitet arbor in arvo,
Fulva comam, fulvo ramis crepitantibus auro,
Hinc tria forte mea veniens decerpta ferebam
Aurea poma manu :

Ovid. *Met.* x. 644-650.

Here it is clear that the apples grew in a sacred enclosure, and were plucked golden from a golden bough. The reference to the dotation from ancient time reminds one of the "ancient garden of Apollo". If this fruit belongs to the earlier ritual in the old-time garden, it ought to be the mandrake-apple that was plucked : and then it would be love-magic and not mere covetousness that caused Atalanta to surrender the race to Hippomenes. Ovid tells us plainly that she was in love with him.

Now let us see how the mandrake story has coloured the medicine and religion of Northern and Western Europe. We shall show first that amongst our Teutonic ancestors it was the subject of much wizardry, and that it had the same name as the witch who operated with it. Next we shall go on to show that the legend developed on French soil in such a way as to produce a belief in a fairy-form, female in character, answering to Aphrodite at the other end of the evolutionary scale, and again named after the plant. We take these points in order, they are of great importance, because of the difficulty which some people will feel in accepting the identification of the primitive plant with the archaic divinity : the difficulty is a real one : we may have to admit

the original equivalence of Apollo and the apple, and we certainly cannot explain the name of the apple as a by-product from the name of the god : but is it as evident that we can equate Artemis the woman's doctor with artemisia the woman's medicine ? May not the latter be a true adjective to the former ? And why should we assume an equivalence between Aphrodite and mandragora which would almost require us to explain the former as a linguistic representation of the latter ? These difficulties have been, in part, met already, as for example by the Hesychian equation between Aphrodite and the mandrake, and by the parallelism between the bearded mandrake and the bearded Venus of Cyprus : if, however, we can show that in Germany the witch and the plant have the same name, and that in France, after the original witch had disappeared from the legend, a female fairy was produced, it will be clear that the equivalence of the plant with the potency that controls it lies in the very nature of the case.

Let us then take up the German evidence. Bauhinus in his *Historia Plantarum* already cited, will tell us that amongst the Germans the plant is called *Alraun Maenlein*, but amongst the Belgians, *Mandragora Manneken* ; amongst the Italians, *Mandragora Maschio* ; amongst the French, *Mandragora* or *Mandegloire*. The names are very suggestive ; we have before us the belief that there was a mannikin in the root, that mandrake was in two kinds, male and female, and that in French by an easy linguistic perversion, it came to be called *Hand of Glory*, of which more presently.

In German, then, it was known as *alraun* and this is one of the names of the Teutonic witches, or, if we prefer it, goddesses. An *alruna*-maiden is a witch who operates with *alraun* : she was the plant in the first instance, of necessity she remains closely connected with it.¹

There is no more powerful German magic than the *alraun* : it was a birth-helping medicine, amongst other potencies ; for instance, in some lines of *Frauenlob*,² we are told as follows :—

¹ We may take the statement of the equivalence of the names of the witch and the medicine from Ducange : "Ita vocavere Gothi veteresque Germani magas suas : sed et *alrunae* nomen inditum fuisse mandragorae radicibus, quod praestantis usus in arte magica superstitionis esse videretur" (Loccenius in *Antiq. Sue. Goth.*). "Hodie etiam a Germanis *alrunen* magas vocare constat."

² Ed. Ettmüller, *minneleich* 15, p. 26.

Sit, wip, der süeze ersüezen vürbaz reichet,
 ouch, alsam der alrünen glanz
 der berendigen vrouwen schranz,
 berliche bürde weichet,

upon which Ettmüller remarks that "people seem to have believed that mandragora facilitated parturition. Perhaps it was the potency of the human *alrune* (the witch, the enchantress) that had passed over with the witch to the plant." The observation is interesting, though the transfer of name and potency was probably in the opposite direction. It shows that the mandrake had its cult in Germany where it even discharged some of the functions of the artemisia, as if Aphrodite had taken over the duties of Artemis and acted as her *locum tenens*. The same thing comes out in a passage from Lonicer's *Krauterbuch* (A.D. 1582)¹: "Alraun rinder dienet zu augen- arzneyen. Dieser rinder drey heller gewicht schwer für den frawen gemächt (sc. genitalia) gehalten, bringet ihnen ihre zeit, treibet aus die todte geburt." The language is decidedly Artemisian.

Grimm tells us further that a man who had *alraun* about him could change his form from childhood to age, or conversely at his pleasure. Still more remarkable is the statement that the mandrake had to be dressed like a doll, and fed twice a day. We shall refer to this again, as it is important for the development of the image worship associated with the inherent deity of the plant: dolls may easily become gods, and of course, conversely. There can be no doubt as to the belief in the human form of the mandrake when that belief expresses itself in the concrete forms of a cult requiring food and raiment.

A few remarks may further be made with regard to the property of rejuvenescence attributed above to the mandrake, accompanied by a converse power in the case of young persons. It is precisely this power (interpreted of course sexually) that is attributed to Aphrodite, and furnishes one of her titles. For instance, she is called *Ambo-logēra*, the Postponer of Old Age: a term which has its perfect explanation in a passage of Plutarch:—

καὶ ἡμᾶς οὐπω παντάπασιν ἡ Ἀφροδίτῃ πέφενγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσευχόμεθα δῆπουθεν, λέγοντες ἐν τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὕμνοις·

Ἀνάβαλε ἄνω τὸ γῆρας

ὦ καλὰ Ἀφροδίτῃ.

—Plut., *Sympos.* 3, 6, 4.

¹ P. 106. Quoted by Grimm, *Myth.* iv. 1673 (Eng. tr.).

It appears that a prayer for the adjournment of old age may have been actually incorporated in the ritual of the goddess. With this, we may take another petition addressed to the goddess in an epigram of Martial :—

Supplex ille rogat, pro se miserisque duobus,
Hunc juvenem facias, hunc, Cytherea, virum :

—Mart. II, 81, 5.

which will help us to understand the kind of help desired at the opposite end of the sexual scale.

This power of sexual modification is responsible for the belief of the middle ages that the man who had the mandrake could be man or child just as he would : “swenne er wil sô ist er ein kindelin, swenne er wil sô mác er alt sin ” (Grimm, *ut supra*).

Now let us come to the French traditions. We have the belief that the “hand-of-glory” can be dug up under a gibbet, both in England and France. This “hand-of-glory” is the *main de gloire* evolved linguistically out of *Mandragore*. We have already explained that for mandrake to be effective it must be dugged from under the gallows on which an innocent victim had been hanged : and we pointed out the same folk-tradition in Medea’s gathering of the plant that had been fed with the ichor of the wronged and suffering Prometheus. The *main de gloire* became on the one side, an actual hand to be dug out, and on the other side it evolved into a French fairy named *Magloire*, who could presumably do all that the mandrake was expected to do : *Magloire* was a French *alruna*-maiden, a resuscitated Aphrodite. The importance of this for the equation of the mandragora and the goddess is obvious.

Now for some bits of evidence.

Chéruel in his *Dictionnaire Historique des Institutions Mœurs, et Coûtumes de la France* (A.D. 1855, ii. 726) tells us that mandragora is a plant to which the peasants in some of the provinces attribute a marvellous virtue. He then quotes from the *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris* in the fifteenth century with regard to the mandrake : “que maintes sottes gens gardaient et avaient si grand foi en cette ordure, que pour vrai ils croyaient fermement que tant comme ils l’avaient, pourvu qu’il fut en beaux drapeaux de soie ou de lin enveloppé, jamais ils ne seraient pauvres ”.

Here again we have the mandrake dressed up (remember that in

the original Aphrodite Cult the goddess was always draped), and this well-dressed mandrake would make one rich, had in fact the key to hidden treasures. Chérue! goes on to show that this belief lasted into the nineteenth century, and quotes an extraordinary story from St. Palaye of a conversation he had with a peasant as to the existence of the *main de gloire* at the foot of a mistletoe-bearing oak! The *main de gloire* or *mandrake* was for this peasant a kind of mole at the root of the tree, which had to be regularly fed, and would always make you rich by returning twice as much as you spent upon it. But woe to the man who neglected to supply the mandrake with its proper nutriment! The plant had become an animal, but was still parlous stuff to deal with. For convenience of reference we transcribe the description: "Il y a longtemps qu'il règne en France une superstition presque générale au sujet de *Mandrages*: il en reste encore quelque chose parmi les paysans. Comme je demandais un jour à un paysan un gui de chêne, il me conta qu'on disait qu'au pied des chênes qui portent du gui, il y avait une main de gloire (c'est à dire en leur langage une mandragore), qu'elle était aussi avant dans la terre que le gui était élevé sur l'arbre; que c'était une espèce de taupe; que celui qui la trouve était obligé de lui donner de quoi la nourrir, soit du pain, de la viande, ou toute autre chose; et que ce qu'il lui avait donné une fois il était obligé de lui donner tous les jours et dans la même quantité, sans quoi elle faisait mourir ceux qui y manquaient. Deux hommes de sons pays qu'il me nomma en étaient morts, disait-il; mais en récompense cette main de gloire rendait au double le lendemain ce qu'on lui avait donné la veille. Si elle avait reçu aujourd'hui pour un écu de nourriture celui que le lui avait donné en trouvait deux le lendemain, et ainsi de toute autre chose: tel paysan qu'il me nomma encore et qui était devenu fort riche, avait trouvé à ce qu'on croyait, ajouta-t-il, une de ces mains-de-gloire."¹

¹ It is amusing to see the way in which the "Hand of Glory" is worked up in the poetry of the Ingoldsby Legends, and with what fidelity to tradition, excepting only that the *main de gloire* is taken from the actual murderer on the gibbet and not dug up from beneath it. The author produces the following spell:—

Now open lock
To the Dead Man's knock!
Fly bolt and bar and band!
Nor move nor swerve,
Joint, muscle, or nerve,

I have not yet succeeded in determining the meaning of the relation between the mandrake and the mistletoe-bearing oak. There is something here waiting to be unravelled. We have also to find out how the oak became a gibbet.¹ The legend of the mandrake appears to be crossed at certain points by that of the mugwort : both of them have in common with the springwort (whatever that was) the power of enriching their possessors. The mandrake, like the other famous plants, was magic as well as medicine.

In spite of the crossing of cults to which we have referred, the main point remains clear ; viz. : that mandragora is magic rather than medicine ; and that it is peculiarly a love-magic. It is as old as the Book of Genesis, whatever may be the date to which that book of Hebrew traditions is ultimately assigned. It has lasted as a love-medicine to our own times. As Isaac Vossius said in the seventeenth century,

“Mandragorae putatur vis inesse amorem conciliandi”.²

The superstition referred to was noticed by Sibthorp to prevail amongst the young Athenians, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who kept pieces of mandrake root about their persons in little bags for amatory reasons.³

Our next step is to ask whether the apple of Love turns up in the figured representations of Aphrodite, in the same way as we showed the apple to occur in coins representing Apollo, and elsewhere in connection with the god. One recalls at once that some of the most famous statues of Aphrodite represent her with an apple in her hand. The Venus of Melos, for example ; or the famous statue of the sculptor Kanachos in Sikyon of which Pausanias says that it was made of gold and ivory and that the hands held, one a poppy and *the other an apple*. Here the selected fruit and flower are

At the spell of the Dead Man's hand !
Sleep all who sleep ! Wake all who wake !
But be as the Dead for the Dead Man's sake !

This is not bad. The hand of glory operates on the one hand as a springwort, and on the other as the soporific anæsthetic mandragora.

¹ We might compare the hanging of victims (or, at least, their heads) upon a sacred oak. See A. B. Cook, *European Sky-god*, p. 397.

² Vossius, *De, idol.* lib. v.

³ “Radici frustula, in sacculis gesta, pro amuleto amatorio hodie, apud juvenes Atticos, in usu sunt” [Sibthorp, *Flora Graeca* (A.D. 1819), iii. 16].

suggestive, for the mandragora is a sort of combination of poppy and apple, from the old Greek medical point of view. The apple inherits its magical power, the poppy its soporific value.

Then we have "a terra-cotta figure from Corinth, of which both hands are held against the breast, with a dove in the right hand, *an apple in the left*,"¹ or we might refer to "the bronze in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, representing her as holding the hem of her robe in the left hand, and *an apple in the right*, and wearing a flower-wrought crown."² Then there is the well-known statue called the Venus Genetrix in the Louvre, reproducing some religious image of the divinity of vegetation, as we may believe that the hand with



VENUS, WITH SCEPTRE AND APPLE
(From copper coin of imperial date in British Museum. From Aphrodisias in Caria)



VENUS GENETRIX

(From a silver denarius of Sabina, the wife of Hadrian, in the collection of Mr. A. B. Cook)

the apple is a correct restoration.³ Other artistic representations may be quoted, but these will suffice. It appears that Aphrodite, then, resembles Apollo in one of her leading cult symbols, the apple. Not only so, but she appears to have occasionally taken a title from the symbol, parallel to *Apollo Maleates*, for in a coin of Magnesia on the Maeander she appears as *Ἀφροδίτη Μηλεία*, and this is the apple-Aphrodite and not the Aphrodite of Melos.⁴

How, then, are we to explain this concurrence in cult symbol between Apollo and Aphrodite? We know the meaning of Apollo's apple; it has been shown to be the sacred tree which is Apollo's self: it is, however, impossible that this can be true of Aphrodite; she is not the apple-tree nor the mistletoe. The explan-

¹ Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 673.

² *Ibid.* 692.

³ *Ibid.* The coin representing Venus with sceptre and apple is a copper coin of imperial date, in the British Museum, from Aphrodisias in Caria. The Venus Genetrix coin is a silver denarius of Sabina the wife of Hadrian, in the Collection of Mr. A. B. Cook.

⁴ See Zeit. f. Num. 1885, t. 12, p. 318, pl. 13^e.

ation is that her apple is a substitute for the mandrake-apple ; she is, as Hesychius explains, the " Lady of the Mandrake " ; and when we put this apple back into her hand, well ! that is her way of telling us her past history ! The two apples, the Apolline and the Aphrodisian are respectively the oracular apple and the love-apple, and the apple, as a symbol of love, is derived from the earlier fruit. The oracular apple will survive in folk-lore as a means of determining, by its rind or its pips, what one's luck in love is like to be.

Now let us see whether we can find any evidence for the substitution of the Apolline-apple for the original love-apple in the Aphrodite Cult. How are we to transfer the symbolic fruit from Delphi or Delos to Cyprus ? The answer is as follows :—

There was a mythical story current preserved to us by Servius, or one of his interpolators, in his commentary on Vergil, according to which a certain young man, *named Melos*, went from Delos to Cyprus, in the days of King Cinyras, the father of Adonis : he became bosom friend of Adonis and married a young Cypriote lady, a priestess of Aphrodite. After the death of Adonis, the heart-broken Melos and his companion hanged themselves upon a tree. Aphrodite, in pity, turned Melos into an apple-tree, which was called Melon in memory of the tragic event, and his partner into a dove. In this way, then, the apple of Delos may be said to have been consecrated in the shrine of Adonis. Here is the very passage of Servius, from which mythological tradition it is possible to extract some further evidences of the way in which religious explanations presented themselves to the mind of an educated Greek.

Serv. in Verg. *edl.* viii. 37, *roscida mala* :—

Matutini roris humore perfusa. (Sane unde Melus Graece traxerit nomen, fabula talis est : Melus quidam in Delo insula ortus, relicta patria fugit ad insulam Cyprum, in qua eo tempore Cinyras regnabat, habens filium Adonem : hic Melum sociatum Adoni filio iussit esse, cumque eum videret esse indolis bonae, propinquam suam dicatam et ipsam Veneri, quae Pelia dicebatur, Melo coniunxit : ex quibus nascitur Melus, quem propterea quod Venus Adonis amore teneretur, tanquam amati filium inter aras praecipit nutriri. Sed postquam Adonis apri ictu extinctus est, senex Melus cum dolorem mortis Adonis ferre non posset, laqueo se ad arborem suspendens vitam finit, ex cuius nomine Melus appellatus est. Pelia autem coniux eius in eo arbore se adpendens necata est. Venus misericordia eorum mortis ducta, Adoni luctum continuum praestitit. Melum in pomum sui nominis vertit, Peliam coniugem eius in columbam mutavit : Melum autem puerum,

qui de Cinyrae genere solus supererat, cum adultum vidisset collecta manu redire ad Delum praecepit; qui cum ad insulam pervenisset, et rerum esset ibi potitus, Melon condidit civitatem: et cum primus oves tonderi, et vestem de lanis fieri instituisset, meruit ut eius nomine oves ^{μῆλα} appellantur.)

Thus far Servius, or his interpolator Daniel. It is interesting to see the attempt to connect *apples* with *sheep* in Greek. Now let us return to Aphrodite whom we have justified in apple-stealing from Apollo.

Our next enquiry should be as to the provenience of the mandragora: how did it come into Greek magic or medicine? Is it a home product, or has it been brought from abroad? Or was it first brought from abroad and then discovered at home? And did its discovery result in the establishment of a garden of Aphrodite, with such plants as were likely to further her particular ends? When we examine the herbals we do not get much light on these questions, though it is clear we are dealing with a continuous tradition of long standing. Gerarde, for example, simply tells us¹ that “mandrake groweth in hot Regions, in woods and mountaines, in Mount Garganus in Apulia, and such like places. We have them onely planted in gardens, and are not elsewhere to be found in England.” Upon which Parkinson enlarges as follows: ² “They grow in woods and shadowy places, and the female on river-sides in diverse countries, beyond the Alpes, but not on this side naturally, as in Graecia, the *Isles of Candy*, and others in the *Mediterranean Sea*, Italy also and Spain: with us they are nursed up as rarities in gardens”.

Now wherever Parkinson took his information from, whether from the actual trading botanists of his day, or from early writers, does not so much matter. The significant thing is that the mandrake is found *in the Greek islands*. That puts a new light on Aphrodite's migrations, and her cult centres in Cyprus and Cythera. The natural inference is that the plant was brought down the Levant by Phœnician traders. Aphrodite is the imported mandragora of early times, and has undergone divinisation in the same way as Apollo and Artemis.

As soon as Aphrodite has shed her transformation raiment, and become a plant again, we see the meaning of the magic cestus which she used to wear, with which she did witchcraft on Olympus and

¹ p. 352.

² *Theatr. Botan.* p. 344.

elsewhere. It is the belt of mandrake roots which the women of ancient times wore next their skin, for reasons detailed above.

Its magic virtue is clear from the language of Homer. It was witchcraft and made its wearer, for the time of wearing, into a witch. Hence Hera begs its use that she may operate on Zeus with more than normal charms : and it is interesting that in describing the loan of the cestus Homer lets us see, behind his designedly obscure language, a girdle containing a number of plants used as philtres : the passage runs as follows in a translation :—

Give me the loveliness and power to charm
Whereby thou reigns't o'er gods and men supreme.

Then Venus spoke and from her bosom loosed
Her brodered Cestus, wrought with every charm
To win the heart ; there Love, there young Desire,
There fond Discourse, and there Persuasion dwelt.

—Iliad, 14, 197, tr. Derby.

These potencies were, we suspect, originally vegetables, and the chief of them was the mandrake. Lucian, in his *Dialogues of the Gods*, makes Athene roundly charge Aphrodite with witchcraft, and Athene and Hera refuse to take part in the contest for Beauty, unless Aphrodite takes off that thing. How could a young man give a fair verdict, and it had to be a man's verdict, if one of the competitors was mandraked and talismaned, so as to incapacitate his judgment in advance ! Under such circumstances we should all have gone wrong, even if a thousand CEnones had called from the bush and told us to give the apple to Athene.

Now comes the most difficult problem of all, the question of the name. Is there anything that philology can confidently say on the subject ? Or have we had so many bad guesses that there is no prospect of doing anything more than add one to the number of those that already exist ? The one thing that seems clear is that the name is not Greek ; and from this it follows as, at all events, a reasonable hypothesis, in view of the traditional connection of Aphrodite with Cyprus, that the name is Semitic and probably Phœnician. What would the goddess be likely to be called if she were really my lady Mandragora ? The Hebrew name is *Dudaim* for the mandrakes found in the field, and it is matter of nearly general agreement that this has to do with a root that means "Love". Thus "David" is

said to mean "Beloved," and Solomon is actually called Jedid-Jah or "Beloved of Jahveh," the name being supposed by some to answer to a primitive form *Dodo*. The name of the mandrake *Dudai* would be an adjectival form belonging to this root; put the word for fruit before it and we have *pridudai* = פרי דודאי. It will be recognised that we have here something that might be the ancestor to the Greek *A-phrodite*. Now how would this be expressed in Phœnician? Fruit would be פר = *phar*, and if we may judge by the analogy of the forms David (*Dōd*) and Dido, we might expect something like *phar-didi*, from which it is not a long step to the Greek spelling. Ἀφροδίτη would, to reach its primitive form, lose a prefixed vowel and change its last consonant from *t* to *d*, so as to read Φροδίδη. Now it is curious that there is some sign of wavering in the spelling of the name on early Greek vases. We find, for example, *Aphro-tide*. It may be an accidental permutation but it arouses suspicion. The form *Aphrodide* I have not found.

According to this suggestion, Aphrodite is simply love-apple, Græcised out of a primitive Semitic (Phœnician) form.

I see that this derivation has been in part anticipated, and that a number of German scholars have suggested that the first part of the goddess' name is connected with the root פרה (fruit). The idea which they thus reach is that of fruitfulness, a very proper idea to be connected with the more wholesome aspects of human love. It is, however, an insufficient explanation. There must be some other idea involved than that of fruit or fruitfulness. The mandrake cannot be fruit without some other quality to distinguish it from other fruits; it might possibly be fruitfulness in the abstract, if every one who used it had that idea before his mind. It is, however, doubtful if this could be maintained. It would suit the case of Rachel in the Book of Genesis, but not the devotees at Amathus or Paphos.

Moreover, we have an important analogy, which suggests that the name of the goddess has something to do with evil magic, as well as good magic.

The name of the Roman goddess Venus is one of the conundrums of Philology. It should, probably, be connected with the Latin *venenum* (poison) in the form *venesnum*, in which case Venus is simply the witch-medicine for love, perhaps the very same witch-medicine that was used further east: her name is not Love but

Philtre.¹ Analogy, then, suggests something more than "fruitfulness" as the underlying meaning of Aphrodite. Those who suspected the Semitic root to be פרה did not carry their enquiry far enough.²

In this connection we might almost have divined a herbal element in the Cult of Aphrodite from the language of Sappho. Mr. A. B. Cook draws my attention to the opening line of the first fragment of Sappho, where Aphrodite is addressed as

ποικιλόθρον', ἀθάνατ' Ἀφροδίτα,

and where some controversy, or, at least, divergence of interpretation, has arisen over the meaning of ποικιλόθρονος.

Enmann, in his work on *Cyprus and the Origin of the Cult of Aphrodite* makes the word to mean that the goddess is seated on the gay sky of Night, she the golden one or the one that dwells in a golden house.³

Walter Headlam, in his new book of translations, takes the word in the same sense. On the other hand, and with greater probability, Wüstemann⁴ took the word to be derived from θρόνα ποικίλα, in

¹ Giles, *Manual of Comp. Phil.*, § 223; "venenum, literally 'love-potion' for uenes-no-m".

² Those who wish to follow the matter up may like to have the following references:—

Tümpel, *Ares and Aphrodite*, p. 680. (*Supplement-band XI der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie.*) Ἀφροδίτη, ein Wort, dessen Semitischen Ursprung schon Völcker (*Rhein. Mus.*, 1883, *Ausländische Götterculte bei Homer*); Scheiffele (*Pauly, Real. Enc. art. Venus*) und Schwenck (*Myth.* iv. 211, 1846) vertheidigt haben, unter Zurückführung auf die Wurzel פרה mit der Bedeutung der Fruchtbarkeit, und mit Recht.

Tümpel adds in a note an alternative solution as follows:—

Sowie Röth (*Geschichte der Philosophie*, i. 252 note) und Preller (*Gr. Myth.* 1², 263), unter Berufung auf das Assyrische פִּרְדָּא (phönisch mit Artikel) אִפְרֹדִת "die Taube," was vielleicht vorzuziehen wäre, wenn nicht eine Einführung der zahmen weissen Taube der Semiramis in der vorasiatischen Culten der Natur-göttin vor 600 a. chr. selbst unwahrscheinlich wäre (Hehn, *Culturpfl.*², 296 f.).

I have not verified these references of Tümpel. It appears to me that the idea of "fruit" or "fruitfulness" is to be understood, as explained above as *Fruit of Love*, or *Love-apple*.

³ Enmann, *Kypros und der Ursprung des Aphroditekultus* in *Mem. de l'Académie Imp. des Sciences de S. Pétersbourg*, vii^e serie, tom. xxxiv. No. 13, p. 77.

⁴ *Rhein. Mus.*, xxiii. 238.

which case *θρόνα* means "gay flowers" or "magic herbs," and the adjective *ποικιλόθρονος* has nothing to do with "a throne": we may refer to the use of *ποικίλα θρόνα* ("quaint enamelled flowers") in Homer (Il. 22, 441) for the original of the Sapphic adjective; but that *θρόνα* may be taken in the sense of "Magic herbs" appears from Theocritus,¹ *τά θρόνα ταῦθ' ὑπόμαξον*, and Nikander.²

From this point of view, Aphrodite *ποικιλόθρονος* is very nearly the same as Aphrodite *Ἀνθεια*: only the flowers have a medical intention, a Medean quality.

It is admitted that this is somewhat tentative and uncertain; but it is the best solution that has yet presented itself to my mind. As to the meaning of mandragora, I have nothing to add to the attempts that have been made at its explanation.

To sum up, Aphrodite is a personification of the mandrake or love-apple. She holds this in her hand in the form of fruit, and wears it round her waist, or perhaps as an armlet, in the form of a girdle in which the root of the plant is entwined. Whether she had a herb-garden in which the plant was cherished, along with other similar stimulating vegetables, is doubtful; there was at Athens, near the Ilissus, a sanctuary of Aphrodite *ἐν κήποις*, but what this means is quite uncertain. Perhaps it was only a municipal name, say "the park". The plant appears to have come down the Levant, in the first instance, probably from Cyprus. As Cyprus is in ancient times a Phœnician island, it is possible that the name of the goddess may be a transfer of a Phœnician name for love-apple. The apple which the goddess holds in her hand in certain great works of art, is a substitute for the primitive apple-of-love.

¹ Idyll. 2, 59.

² Ther. 493, 936.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL IDEALS IN THE ENGLISH POETS.¹

BY C. H. HERFORD, M.A., LITT.D.,

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE IN THE
VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

“**P**OETRY,” said Shelley, “is the expression of the best and happiest moments of the happiest and best minds.” “Every man,” said the great French critic Sainte-Beuve, “has a sleeping poet in his breast.” These two sayings may serve to justify, if it need justification, the recourse to the poets at a time of supreme national stress. The poets are even through their poetry akin to us, and the greatest poets are of all the most deeply akin. They waken something in us which habitually sleeps, and this something we recognize, the more surely the greater the poet, as the best in us, something which draws us by a sudden magic out of our common egoisms and our common attachments, and makes us for the time citizens of a realm which is at once real and ideal ; the very world which we inhabit, but seen in the light of larger vision and loftier purpose. No doubt, poetry is a house with many mansions, and some of these are idyllic pleasaunces where you rather learn to forget the real world than to see it more clearly ; where dreaming eyes look out from magic casements upon faery lands, and idle singers pipe at ease of an empty day. But no great poet remains permanently in these idyllic bowers. You find him sooner or later in the great hall, vividly alive to all that goes on there, to high counsel and heroic emprise, to the memorials of the great past which hang on the walls, the symbolic fire that burns on the hearth. Every country which has given birth to a great poet has a voice in which some national aspiration, or some national need, has become articulate.

But no nation has a richer treasure of great poets who reflect, sustain, and reanimate its deeper self, than our own country.

¹ A Lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 4 January, 1916.

We may distinguish three types of national ideal. In a complete and mature patriotism they will all be found ; but, in patriotism as it has commonly been, and still for the most part is, one or other falls short. There is first, the " simple " patriotism of the warrior fighting and dying for his native land, and thinking that true glory. The cry of this patriotism is heard in the first beginnings of all national history, and is heard to the end. It was never more alive than it is in Europe to-day. But as a nation grows in strength and complexity, new problems emerge, for which this primitive patriotic passion offers no solution : problems of internal right, the struggle of sovereign and subjects, of privileged orders and the people, of rich and poor ; it becomes evident that a nation secure from without may be shattered from within, and then perhaps for the first time fall an easy prey to an external foe. Thus arise more complex ideals of national well-being, which may lead men equally devoted to their country along different, even opposite paths ; whole-hearted patriots are found on both sides in every civil war, as well as in the normal antagonisms of parties. But these ideals may still ignore everything outside the nation ; they may be national in the narrow sense of those who regard the well-being of other nations only as it contributes to the power, wealth, or glory of their own ; and it is possible, as we see in Germany to-day, for an ideal of national life to be extraordinarily developed in respect of its own internal organization, and yet on a very low plane in regard to the well-being of other nations. There remains then a third phase of national ideal, which regards the nation as fulfilling its function only when it acts as a member of the community of Man. This third phase, even from a strictly " national " point of view, marks an advance. For just as a man who wrongs his fellow-citizens will be apt to wrong his family, if only by loading them with privileges or luxuries beyond their due, so a nation which is unjust to other nations will be also deeply unjust to itself, if only by stimulating beyond measure those sides of its life, those elements of its strength, which serve only for aggression and expanse.

If we look at the history of these three types of national ideal we find that, while they emerge in different phases of national life, the earlier as a rule persist side by side with the later, like the labourers in the vineyard, and, as there, the latest comer is not the least deserving, though as yet he is apt to receive the least reward. Thus the ele-

mentary love of country and readiness to die for it is as strong to-day as in the English country-folks who fought by East Anglian river sides with Danish pirates. The ideals of social justice and order hardly emerge in England before the 14th century ; their clash and clamour is still about us on every side to-day. While the ideal of international right, which is to a fully developed nation what the ideal of humanity is to a high-bred man, first became clear and resonant in the age of the French Revolution, and in spite of the appalling rebuff which it has experienced in the present crisis, that ideal is steadily and quietly rooting itself in the best mind of the civilized world.

What, then, has been the part of the poets in relation to these three types of ideal ?

I.

Few words are needed here of the elementary but sublime patriotism of the field. War, like Love, touches man where he is greatest and where he is least ; the fire and the clay, the hero and the brute. It is the glory of poetry that in its handling of this familiar matter, it helps to liberate us from the obsession of the brute and the clay, and make us one with the hero and the flame. We all of us, as citizens and newspapers readers, treat it as axiomatic : that success is better than failure, and coming back from the battle infinitely preferable to falling in it. Yet when Browning tells us that "achievement lacks a gracious somewhat" ; or when Wordsworth declares that action is a temporary and limited thing, "the motion of a muscle this way or that," while suffering "opens gracious avenues to infinity" ; or when Rupert Brooke, in his noble sonnet, declares that in the peril of death lies the supreme safety,—we thrill with an involuntary assent which, in spite of the protests of our cool reason, obstinately persists. And whether this be every one's experience or not, the poets themselves involuntarily confirm it by the poetic sterility of sheer triumph. The pæan is a poor creature compared with tragedy. Even Pindar's songs of triumph for the winners of chariot races are themselves a kind of triumph over reluctant material. The noblest battle-poetry in Old English is the story, nearly 1000 years old, of one of the rare occasions on which Englishmen have been overpowered by an invading army on their own soil. All fall save two ; but their leader before the fight has flung his heroic defiance at the Danish pirates : "Tell

your lord, that here stands unblenching, a chieftain with his men, who mean to defend this native ground, this fatherland ". Or compare the crude animal joy of Laurence Minot, as he hitches into rhyme the smashed limbs and burnt cities of the French or the Scots, and the glow of unquenchable faith with which John Barbour a little later tells the story of the homeless wanderings of Robert Bruce. In most great battle-poetry we are made to feel either the heroic stand against great odds, as in Drayton's song of Agincourt, and Tennyson's "The Revenge "; or else the pathetic sublimity of ruin, as in Shakespeare's wonderful lines on Coriolanus :—

Death, that dark sprite, in's nervy arm doth lie,
Which being advanced declines, and then men die.

His "Henry V." is no doubt a dramatic song of triumph for a great national success. But it is not Henry's success which most endears him to his creator ; the greatest moments of the play are those in which he shows us the tragic forecast of doom based upon his father's wrong, and the personal magnetism which welded his army together as one man and, more than his generalship, accounted for the victory. Drayton had painted him truculently careless of his title to the crown :—

His lion's courage stands not to inquire
Which way old Harry came by it. . . .
What's that to him ? He hath the garland now. . . .

That is not Shakespeare's notion of heroism ; his Henry prays to God, before Agincourt, to remember his father's guilt on some other day. And his mastery of men is based not upon terror, terrible though he can be, but upon comradeship and character :—

A largess universal, like the sun,
His genial eye doth shed on every one,
Thawing cold fear, that mean and gentle all,
Behold, as may unworthiness define,
A little touch of Harry in the night.

In that very drama of "Coriolanus" which sounds the sublimest note of Shakespeare's war poetry, the climax of greatness is reached not in those pictures of the irresistible arm, leaving death and tears in its path, but in his final surrender of his purposed vengeance upon Rome at the impassioned appeal of his mother and wife,—a surrender which, he knows, will cost his life :—

O mother, mother !
 What have you done ? Behold, the heavens do ope,
 The gods look down, and this unnatural scene
 They laugh at. O my mother, mother ! O !
 You have won a happy victory for Rome ;
 But for your son, believe it, O believe it,
 Most dangerously you have with him prevailed,
 If not most mortal to him. But, let it come.

So, if we turn to a later time, a poet like Campbell made great heroic songs of the " Battle of the Baltic," and the irresistible floating bulwarks of Britannia. But for the greatest war poetry of that world-crisis we have to turn to Wordsworth's sonnets. And what stirs him to poetry is not Trafalgar or Waterloo, of them he has not a word ; but the colossal disasters of Jena and Austerlitz, the overthrow of Venice and of Switzerland, and the ruin of leaders of forlorn hopes, like Schill, and Palafox, and Toussaint Louverture. The wonderful sonnet to this last great ruined chieftain gathers up in its last lines,—some of the sublimest in English poetry,—that instinctive faith, which we can neither justify nor get rid of, that heroism, even when it utterly fails, and the more when it utterly fails, does not perish, but has its part in the spiritual atmosphere in which our lives are passed and by which they are silently moulded, replenished, and inspired :—

Most miserable chieftain ! Yet do thou
 Wear rather in thy bonds a cheerful brow !
 Though fallen thyself, never to rise again,
 Live and take comfort ! Earth and air and skies,
 There's not a breathing of the common wind
 That will forget thee. Thou hast great allies ;
 Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
 And Love, and Man's unconquerable mind.

II.

We have glanced at two Shakesperean types of military valour. The gulf which separates Henry and Coriolanus in their action upon the State,—the one affecting it as cement, the other as dynamite,—may help our transition to the second type of national ideal, that rooted in the need for inner cohesion and order. Doubtless this need was first brought home by the urgency of the more primitive need of defence. In Germany to-day, where the militarism of the primitive tribe has survived into an age of advanced industrial and scientific culture, we see child life and the upbringing of children watched over,

on the whole to its great advantage, largely with a view to the provision of fighting material. The older civilization of England has outgrown the motive without approaching the results. And, on the whole, the ideas and ideals which emerge most distinctly in the long struggling evolution of the English polity, have not been consciously adopted or systematically applied, have not been framed, like Plato's, in academic groves, but have been struck out in the thrust and parry conflicts and the give and take settlements of centuries of eager and vivid political life ; and if we look for logical symmetry in their application we soon recognize that the struggles out of which they emerged have left them scarred and chipped, riddled with anomalies and exceptions.

Two such ideals, in particular, have come down to us, as trophies of our long political history, and deeply dyed with its temper—*law* and *liberty*. The fact that we couple them is characteristic of the shape these seeming opposites have assumed in our hands : we clearly regard law not as a force which interferes with our liberty, but as one which prevents other people from interfering with it. Let us now ask what the poets have done to illuminate or drive them home. Law, to begin with, is not a matter obviously fruitful for poetry ; for poetry is commonly a surging up of individual passion and thought, something penetrated and pervaded by personality ; while law prides itself on being blind to distinctions of persons, and on imposing an inflexibly uniform rule upon all alike. Hence poets have frequently been born *antinomian*, they have denounced law as a system of mechanical bonds in the name, now of emancipated impulse and unreined desire, now of the higher law of spiritual freedom. So Shelley and so Blake. But theirs is not the dominant note of English poetry. Our poets have on the whole been, for better or worse, in close touch with the deepest convictions of the nation ; they have interpreted its best instincts ; and none more signally than the greatest of all. But long before Shakespeare and Milton, in that momentous 14th century when England could already arraign her kings, one stern poetic voice is heard arraigning England herself for her loose observance of the laws she had set up. William Langland saw the England of his day in a dream, as Bunyan, 300 years later, saw the England of his, given up to lawlessness.

The great Elizabethans too, except Marlowe—the Shelley of the 16th century—are penetrated with the sanctity of civic and political

law. The "Faerie Queene" of Spenser, the most complete and splendid expression of Elizabethan ideals, is indeed no severe and frowning temple of Minos; it has rather been likened to an upper chamber suffused with the morning sunlight, rich with the fragrance and music of the wakening world. It is informed through and through by the passion for beauty. Yet Spenser is no epicurean. His passion for beauty finds sustenance not chiefly in the beauty that cloys or even thrills and exalts the sense, but in that which uplifts the spirit and kindles the nerve: in heroic emprise, in self-consecration, and self-control. Beneath that exalted sensibility of his lay the hard grit of an Elizabethan statesman, lay the stern asceticism, even, of a Puritan. And so, to the moral equipment of his ideal man belongs, together with holiness, temperance, and chastity,—justice. Law and order matter to him supremely, and not only as pious aspirations: he is ruthless in enforcing them. His champion of Justice, Sir Artegal, who stands for Lord Grey, the Vicegerent of Ireland, to whose suite Spenser was attached, is attended everywhere by a man of iron mould,

Immoveable, resistless without end,
Who in his hand an iron flail did hold
With which he thresht out falsehood and did truth unfold.

While Sir Artegal himself, who has been "nursled in all the discipline of justice"¹ from childhood, wields a sword of adamant that cleaves whatever it lights on. A conception of Justice of more than Roman rigour, one thinks. And indeed the Elizabethan treatment of Ireland, which Spenser has in view, showed a contempt for the customs of the subject people, a masterful overriding of *their* justice by *our* justice, which Rome only practised under extreme provocation. The day of our third type of national ideal had not yet dawned. But Spenser was an idealist, and his ruthlessness, like that of another, much maligned, idealist of our age, Friedrich Nietzsche, was rooted in his idealism. He saw a world from which the goddess of Justice had taken flight, grief-stricken at the wickedness of men: nothing remained but that her champion should restore her dominion by the sword. The gentle and humane Spenser represents the legal and law-abiding temper of England on the side, it must be owned,

¹ "F.Q." v. i. 9 f.

on which it stands nearest to despotism. And the modern Englishman finds himself more easily, in this as in other matters, in the neighbouring poetic world—the world at once more supremely poetic, and more profoundly real, of Shakespeare. Shakespeare's politics, it is true, no more than Spenser's, are ours ; the Civil wars and the Revolution lie once for all between us ; a gulf which the stoutest Tory reactionary cannot cross. Democrats—even so large and free a spirit as Whitman—may turn away from his genially contemptuous pictures of the Roman mob. But Shakespeare, Tudor poet as he was, draws arbitrary power with a yet more incisive hand. If he laughs at the Roman citizens on whose political sentiments Mark Antony plays what tune he pleases, he makes Cæsar himself a provoking compound of magnificent pretensions and senile weakness. And the English Histories are weighted with an almost oppressive sense of the national significance of law. Shakespeare does not show us the goddess of Justice flying with shrieks away from earth ; nor a knightly champion vindicating her with an adamant sword. But he shows us the Titan Richard III, trampling, with easy cynical smile, the innocent lives which stand in his path ; and the tender flower, Richard II, as beautiful as the other was ungainly, overriding the liberties of England with the insolent nonchalance of boyhood. Bolingbroke is able to dethrone Richard because Richard stands for wanton misrule and he for the might of law, for the established and ordered polity of England. And it is this ordered polity of England and neither Bolingbroke nor Richard, that is the hero of this play. For Bolingbroke, having dethroned Richard in the name of law, himself violates law by sending him to death ; and thus incurs for the dynasty he founds the Nemesis which finally overwhelms the House of Lancaster in the Civil Wars. So far is Shakespeare from the worship of the strong man ; so far is he from the worship of the State—from the unqualified worship even of his own England. The strong man Bolingbroke had saved the State, but the strong man, in his posterity, goes down ; and so far from crime being as Macchiavelli taught, a method of benefiting a State, Shakespeare saw in it only a desperate hazard which might seal its doom.

But if he refuses to worship force, Shakespeare believes unflinchingly in government. Only he sees that all government succeeds best when it has the wills of the governed on its side, and his ideal for a

State is that it should be what in modern language we call an organism, what in his is called a harmony—

Congreeing in a full and natural close
Like music.

Therefore doth heaven divide
The state of man in divers functions,
Setting endeavour in continual motion ;
To which is fixed, as an aim or butt,
Obedience : for so work the honey-bees,
Creatures that by a rule in nature teach
The act of order to a peopled kingdom.

“ Hen. V.” I. ii.

The poetry of our greatest poet is then permeated with the ideal of law. But what of the ideal of liberty? Liberty, as an ideal, stirs us, and above all stirs the poet in us more deeply than law. Yet in the poetry of Shakespeare and his generation the note of liberty is hardly heard save in genial mockery at the fantastic tricks played in its name by the Roman plebeians, or Jack Cade, or Caliban. Nay, in all English poetry up till his time we rarely detect it. There were serfs, and dungeons, and pining captives in England before the 17th century; but it was only then that their inarticulate misery broke out in songs to divine liberty. The oppressed and the singers had, till then, belonged, on the whole, to distinct categories. The poets were on the prevailing side; their sweetness came out of its strength; Chaucer, the favourite of kings and friend of queens, never hints at the grinding economic oppression which provoked the agrarian revolution. Queen Elizabeth was an autocrat, but her autocratic power came home chiefly to Catholics and Puritans, whose armoury of retort included many formidable weapons, but not the trumpet blasts of an Areopagitica. It was only under the more provocative and headstrong autocracy of the Stuarts that the wrongs done to public and private liberty in England found immortal voice. Milton had thought deeply upon liberty; and his thought was nourished on the wisdom of Athens and the idealism of the early Church. Liberty with him meant both the right of every man to speak his mind unchallenged—*democratic* freedom—and *spiritual* freedom, or the willing self-surrender to a higher law. The second was for Milton the ground and justification of the first. Liberty is with him always, ultimately, the liberty to obey, the release from a lower control

for the sake of perfect service to a higher. And he assails with equal vigour, though with different weapons, the human laws and despotisms which thwart the higher service and the human weakness which flags in it. That higher service and therefore the ideal of perfect liberty, in its conflict with human weakness, is the theme of his great poems. The Lady in "Comus" vindicates it; Adam and Eve transgress it; Christ regains Paradise for man by submitting to it; Samson, after his tragic failure, reasserts it by his death. In the Prose works he deals rather with the impediments imposed by tyrannical laws. If he thunders against the censorship, it is that the mind of England may freely unfold its God-given powers; if he would extend the right of divorce, it is because marriage is sometimes a clog to the spiritual life. And when he came to discharge, at the cost of his eyesight, the "noble task" of defending English liberty before the bar of European opinion, he made very clear that he meant much more by it than the right of the English people to manage its political affairs as it chose. At the close of the "Second Defence of the English People" he turns upon the fellow-countrymen, as Wordsworth will do in his war sonnets, with an outburst of impassioned eloquence, warning them that to have beaten down their enemies, and establishe republican government, will avail them nothing if they neglect the greater victories of peace:—

Nam et vos, O cives . . . For your chances, either of winning or keeping liberty, will be not a little affected, fellow-citizens, by what you are yourselves. Unless your liberty is of such a kind as arms can neither procure nor destroy, unless a liberty founded only on piety, justice, temperance, have struck deep and intimate root in your hearts, there will not be wanting those who will rob you insidiously of the liberty you boast to have won in arms. War has exalted many whom peace brings low. If at the close of war you neglect the arts of peace; if war is your peace and freedom, war your sole glory and virtue, you will find, trust me, peace itself the most arduous kind of war, and what you took for your liberty, your servitude. Unless by loyal and active devotion to God and men . . . you have put away the superstitious spring of ignorance of true religion from your hearts, you will find those who will put you like cattle under the yoke. Unless you expel avarice, ambition, luxury from your minds and from your households, you will have the tyrant whom you thought to encounter abroad and in the field upon you at home, within, and yet more stern, rather a host of tyrants will be begotten daily, unendurably, in your very entrails. *These* you must first conquer, this is the warfare of peace, these are victories, arduous indeed and though bloodless more glorious by far than the bloody victories of war; and unless you are

victors here also, that enemy and tyrant late in the field you will either not conquer at all or you will have conquered him in vain.

For if anyone thinks that to devise ingenious means of filling the treasury, to array forces by land and sea, to deal astutely with foreign envoys, and make sagacious leagues and treaties, is of more value for the state than providing clean-handed justice, redressing grievances, relieving distress, securing to each his own, you will discover too late, when these great affairs have suddenly deceived you, that these small ones, as you account them, have proved your ruin. Nay, even your trust in armies and allies will betray you unless it be guarded by the authority of justice; and wealth and honours, which most men pursue, easily change their owners. They repair where virtue and industry and patient labour are most alive, and desert the slackers. Thus nation precipitates the downfall of nation, or else the sounder part of a nation subverts the more corrupt: thus you have overthrown the royalists. If you slip into the same vices, if you begin to imitate them, to pursue the same bubbles, you will be assuredly royalists for your foes, whether your present foes or their successors; who trusting in the same prayers to God, the same patience, integrity, skill, by which you prevailed, will deservedly subjugate your degenerate sloth and folly.

Know—lest you should blame anyone but yourselves—know, that just as to be free is exactly the same thing as to be dutiful, to be wise, to be just and temperate, prudent with one's own, not laying hands on other's possessions, and thence, finally, generous and strong, so to be the opposite of these, is the same as to be a slave.

If after such great deeds you should degenerate, . . . posterity will pass judgment: that the foundations, yea and more than the foundations, were magnificently laid; but that men were wanting who should complete the building; it will grieve that after such beginnings perseverance was lacking; it will see a great harvest of glory, an occasion for the doing of mighty deeds, but the men were wanting for the occasion; but there were not wanting men to counsel and incite, and when the deeds were achieved, to adorn and glorify them with eternal praise.

Thus Milton by way of liberty and Shakespeare by way of law, arrive at a national ideal which, while very imperfectly worked out as yet in the English State, answers to the strongest and deepest political instincts of the English mind;—an ideal in which order and freedom both have their place, less as antagonists than as partners; order, with us, being most relished when it is won not by terrified obedience or stupid routine, but by the intelligent co-operation of free citizens; and freedom when it expresses that willing acceptance of the social and political order which Heine compared to the congenial bondage of a happy marriage. In our later poetry this Shakespearian and Miltonic ideal for England is expressed most decisively by

Wordsworth, with the accent on Freedom, and, with a yet more emphatic accent upon Order, by Tennyson ; for whom Freedom is a kind of *annexe* to "settled government,"

broadening slowly down
From precedent to precedent.

Expressed most decisively, I say, by Wordsworth and Tennyson. For the English poetry of the 19th century has otherwise broken rather sharply away from this tradition ; and when, as with Swinburne and Meredith, it finally struck a note passionately national again, it was under the spell of other influences, and by way of other paths. The French Revolution altered the psychology, as well as the geography, of Europe ; especially, it left enduring traces in the sensitive brains of poets. It severed the old reverence for government, and thence for law ; it stimulated the temper which sanctifies impulse, and recognizes no oracle but that planted in the individual breast. Yet it also enriched and enlarged the scope of those individual impulses. In a Blake, a Shelley, who fiercely repudiated the old bond of law, it created a new bond of pity, which included all living things.

A robin-redbreast in a cage,
Doth all heaven and earth enrage,

cried Blake.

For I am as a nerve, along which creep
The else unfelt oppressions of the earth,

said Shelley. And Keats, in whom both the political anarchism and the new social sympathy were less pronounced, could yet speak, not less nobly, of the poet,

To whom the miseries of the earth
Are miseries, and will not let them rest.

And Shelley expressed more magnificently than any other English poet the great poetic vision of Humanity :—

Man one harmonious soul of every soul,
Whose nature is its own divine control,

and of the *Universe* kindled and interwoven in every part by Beauty and Love. Of Shelley in another capacity I shall speak presently. It will be well, first, to dwell awhile on the most original, if not the greatest, of the poets of the century, whose contribution to our present subject is perhaps more apposite than any other.

Wordsworth, starting from a passion for freedom as revolutionary and anti-national as theirs, rose, like Milton, and sustained by Milton's inspiration, in the presence of a supreme national crisis, to poetry of freedom which is penetrated both with the passion for country and with the recognition of law, and better than any other in our whole literature answers to our aspirations and our needs to-day. As securely as Milton, Wordsworth knows that wealth and military power cannot of themselves make a people great :—

By the soul
Only, the nations shall be great and free.

He knows that there is the closest inward connexion between the character of a people and its destiny in the world ; and with all his unshaken confidence in the power of Englishmen to work out their own safety by their own right hands, with all his assurance of their union under the threat of invasion :—

in Britain is one breath ;
We all are with you now from shore to shore,
Ye men of Kent ! 'tis victory or death ;

with all this, he recognized the grave failings, which, then as now, sullied our national temper. And so he called in his dejection to Milton,

Milton ! thou shouldst be living at this hour ;

I need not quote the famous words. And the memory of Milton came indeed to his aid, lifting him out of his despondency with the conviction that the English people, with all its flaws, stands, by its soul, for something indestructible in the world's history, in the life of humanity.

It is not to be thought of that the Flood
Of British freedom, which to the open sea
Of the world's praise from dark antiquity
Hath flowed, . . . should perish, and to evil and to good
Be lost for ever. In our Halls is hung
Armoury of the invincible knights of old ;
We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake, the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held. In everything we're sprung
Of Earth's first blood, have titles manifold.

Thus Wordsworth sounds, in a way wholly his own, the great national ideals which had possessed the minds, both so vast and so unlike, of Shakespeare and Milton. What they saw from different,

in part conflicting standpoints, he, though not to be compared with either in range of experience or in compass of thought, nevertheless saw at once. The need for disciplined unity against a foreign foe and order in the State, which Shakespeare most keenly felt, the need for spiritual growth, and the removal of whatever, in law or institution, shackles it, which inspired Milton,—these together are the inspiration of Wordsworth's prophetic call to his countrymen in a world crisis more terrible than either Shakespeare or Milton had ever known.

III.

But this lofty patriotism of Wordsworth and Milton holds in it the seed of something yet loftier. When we recognize, as they did, that by the *soul* only the nations shall be great and free, we have in effect recognized the condition of that highest type of national life of which I spoke. A great German historian, Eduard Zeller, writing long before the war, used these significant words :—

It is questions of power and advantage, it is prejudices and ambitions, which divide the peoples ; what unites them is the culture of ideal interests, morality, art, science, education. In this domain they can unfold all their powers without hostile collision ; here they have all common aims, while the widest scope is left for their individual genius in conceiving and executing them ?

If this is so, if “by the soul” the nations are made implicit members of a world community, while by their greed of wealth and power and by their fear of one another, they are made deadly enemies ; it would be strange if poetry, which is the soul's most intense expression, had not done something in these latter days to quicken the sense of international fellowship. In the first generation following the Revolution, the growth of the sense of fellowship with other nations almost always meant a loosening of the bond of communion with one's own. Wordsworth bitterly resented his country's declaration of war with the young French republic, and listened fiercely for the news of English defeats. Schiller accepted citizenship of France ; and our great chemist, Priestley, invited to accept a seat in the assembly shortly after the September massacres, 1792, declined only because of his imperfect mastery of French. Half a generation later, Byron and Shelley passionately renounced their citizenship of England, and both seemed, by that renunciation, to become citizens, in a fuller sense than ever before, of the kingdom of poetry.

But the Revolution ran its course, and in 1797 the Republic's magnificent war of defence against the embattled monarchies of Europe became a war of aggression even against other republics, like Switzerland and Venice. The gospel of liberation, so ardently proclaimed eight years before, turned into a gospel of conquest. The despised sentiment of nationality, thus outraged, instantly recovered its force ; the Swiss Republicans fought against their fellow-republicans for their country, just as the French socialists to-day are fighting for theirs against their German confederates. Wordsworth's sonnets on the extinction of the Venetian republic, and on the subjugation of Switzerland, both too famous to quote, are the first great lyrics called forth by the tragedy of another people since Milton's yet greater "Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints". And Milton would hardly have spoken with such passion, if he had even spoken at all, had not the massacred people been fellow-Protestants. But Wordsworth cares nothing about their religion ; the faith of Venice and of most of Switzerland was not his ; he only feels poignantly that they had stood for freedom and were now subdued.

But Wordsworth's services to the cause of international liberty were to be far more signal than this, far more signal than is even now generally known. In 1808 the most critical point in the struggle with Napoleon was the Spanish Peninsula. Austria and Prussia were for the time effaced, Russia was humbled, and the rest of the continent was virtually incorporated with the French empire. But in Spain and Portugal the conqueror was met for the first time, not merely by national armies but by a nation in arms. After a century and a half of steady decadence, the countrymen of Cervantes and the Cid, almost without training or military leadership, showed the superb valour which had thrilled the England of Shakespeare. But the task of resisting Napoleon's veterans was stupendous. It was in this crisis, closely resembling the German invasions of Belgium, that England sent her expeditionary force to Portugal. It was eventually to strike the deadliest blow at Napoleon's power. But its first stage was humiliating. After an indecisive success, the leaders concluded the Convention of Cintra, which virtually purchased their safety by a surrender of the Portuguese cause. Questions were asked in Parliament ; but it was an impractical poet who, in a spirit worthy of Milton, in one of the most splendid pieces of reasoned eloquence in the language, ex-

posed the meanness and greed which had dictated the transaction, and summoned his countrymen to rise to the height of the heroic cause they had undertaken, to deliver the small and weak people fighting for their fatherland. The political and military situation he argues with the detailed mastery of a statesman ; but the informing passion of the whole is his own lofty conviction that, "by the soul only the Nations shall be great and free," and that the soul is nowhere more greatly manifested than in the heroic crises of national existence. Even the sonnets do not rise to higher notes of poetry than the prose sentences in which this brooding poet of tranquillity declares that man will always be found more than equal to whatever fate may befall him ; it is his fate which, save at challenging crises like this, does not satisfy the need of his spirit.

The passions of men (I mean the soul of sensibility in the heart of man)—in all quarrels, in all contests, in all quests, in all employments which are either sought by men or thrust upon them—do immeasurably transcend their objects. The true sorrow of humanity consists in this ;—not that the mind of man fails ; but that the course and demands of action and of life so rarely correspond with the dignity and intensity of human desires. . . . But, with the remembrance of what has been done, and in the face of the interminable evils which are threatened, a Spaniard can never have cause to complain of this, while a follower of the tyrant remains in arms upon the Peninsula.

Spain was liberated from Napoleon ; but his overthrow was, as great military triumphs have commonly been, no victory for freedom. If it unseated the great usurper, it everywhere enthroned political reaction. The ten ensuing years saw a series of national efforts for freedom, followed with passionate sympathy by a new generation of English poets. And a new element enters into their sympathy. Wordsworth's championship of the cause of Spain, Switzerland, and Venice is almost untouched by historic sense : they are patriots deprived of their freedom ; but his ardour is not quickened by concern for their specific genius ; his imagination is not yet kindled by that passion for Venice as Venice which Ruskin first taught the world. The spirit of the French Revolution was fundamentally unhistoric : in breaking with the past it broke also with the temper which lingers over and interprets the past. And Wordsworth, far as he receded from the Revolution, never outgrew its anti-historic bias. Byron and Shelley were more genuine children of the Revolution than Wordsworth had ever been ; and they remained arch-rebels to the end.

But, all the same, they lived half a generation later in that swiftly moving time, and they stand for some things which Wordsworth never reached. To them, as to him, the historic spirit as such was strange. But two historic lands stood out for them in consummate splendour from the black wilderness of the past at large. Greece and Italy had naturally been objects of keen interest among scholars since the Renaissance ; but there was a vast gulf between the cultured homage of a Gray, or even the majestic tribute of a Milton, and the passionate claim to spiritual citizenship which inspires Byron's

O Rome, my country, city of my soul,

and led him to give his life for the deliverance of the Greeks.

But still the historic apprehension remains, in both poets, rather ardent than penetrating. We see the passion of the devotee more clearly than the lineaments of the goddess. A generation later, with the Brownings, and then with Meredith, and even with that latter-day Shelley, Swinburne, Italy is not less deeply loved, but she is far more intimately known and far more vividly portrayed. Meredith's "Sandra Belloni," or "Vittoria" is an eloquent symbol of the spirit of the Italian "Risorgimento" ; but she is also a noble rendering of Italian womanhood, nerved to the height of aspiration and of heroic resolve by the great crisis. And Robert Browning's picture of such a woman is not less perfect in the poem, "The Italian in England," which Mazzini used to read to his fellow-exiles in London. The hunted patriot has crouched six days among the ferns, when a company of peasant women went by near his hiding-place. He throws his glove to strike the last, taking his chance of betrayal. The woman gave no sign, but marked the place and went on. He prepares an ingenious tale to explain his position, plausible enough to deceive a peasant. An hour later she returns :—

But when I saw that woman's face,
Its calm simplicity of grace,
Our Italy's own attitude,
In which she walked thus far, and stood,
Planting each naked foot so firm,
To crush the snake and spare the worm,—
At first sight of her eyes, I said,
"I am that man upon whose head
They fix the price, because I hate
The Austrians over us,"—

in short put his life in her hands. She goes back with a message to his friends at Padua. After three days she returns,

I was no surer of sunrise
Than of her coming.

Mrs. Browning was a far more effusive Italian patriot than her husband, but she had less concentrated power, and the prolonged diatribes of "Casa Guidi Windows" and "The Poems before Congress," are not much more digestible to-day than most of the poetry inspired by obsolete politics. But one figure of hers has something of the quality of her husband's Italian peasant-woman—the court lady of Turin who arrays herself in her most stately dress to visit the soldiers, Italian and French, who have been wounded in defence of Italy at Villafranca; that hospital is for her the court, and those wounded soldiers kings. And her words to the French soldier strike one note, not the least noble, of internationalism :—

Each of the heroes around us has fought for his land and line,
But thou hast fought for a stranger, in hate of a wrong not thine.
Happy are all free peoples, too strong to be dispossessed.
But blessed are those among nations, who dare to be free for the rest.

With Algernon Charles Swinburne the English poetry of international idealism assumes an altogether larger compass and grander flight, notwithstanding that his fundamental conceptions are still the crude and outworn ideas of the Revolution. Outworn as they are, they receive a new afflatus from his magnificent lyric power; but it is lyric power pure and simple, for of critical or speculative power applied to ideas Swinburne had hardly a trace. But as I have said, his international idealism has a vast sweep and range. Earth, mother of the peoples, and sister of the stars in their courses, lives again, an aged, tragic figure, and her children, the nations, her glory and her shame, call to her for help :—

Thou that badest man be born, bid man be free.

And so the voices, successively of Greece and Italy, of Spain and France, Russia and Switzerland, of Germany and England, are lifted up in intercession. One recalls with curious interest to-day the voice which Swinburne ascribed to the Germany of half a century ago; the more so since the colossal history of 19th century Germany has passed almost unnoticed in our poetry, through which the great struggles of

19th century Italy sent so deep and sustained reverberations. And this Germany of Swinburne's is curiously remote, it is the Germany of Tacitus and Grimm's fairy tales, and the motley crowd of princedoms and dukeries :—

I am she beside whose forest-hidden fountains
 Slept freedom armed,
 By the magic born to music in my mountains,
 Heart-chained and charmed.
 By those days the very dream whereof delivers
 My soul from wrong ;
 By the sounds that make of all my ringing rivers
 None knows what song ;
 By the many tribes and names of my division
 One from another ;
 By the single eye of sun-compelling vision
 Hear us, O mother !

In sharp contrast with the vague and uncertain touch of that portrait is the terrific sureness and trenchancy of his Italy and his France. Swinburne felt deeply the spell of France ; he gloried in her genius which had shown Europe the way to Revolution ; he gloried in her as the birthplace of his master, Hugo ; but he saw her also prostituted to sensuality, and submitting tamely to the yoke of the Second Empire ; and he turned upon her with the fierce yet agonized rebuke of a lover to a guilty mistress. But when the fiery trial of 1870 came upon her, his anger changed to pity, and he felt that she who had beyond others loved humanity, had, like the Magdalen, atoned for her sins. It is as a Magdalen, thus guilty and thus redeemed, that Freedom, the spirit of God and man, addresses her :—

Am I not he that hath made thee and begotten thee,
 I, God, the spirit of man ?
 Wherefore now these eighteen years hast thou forgotten me,
 From whom thy life began ?
 Yet I know thee turning back now to behold me,
 To bow thee and make thee bare,
 Not for sin's sake but penitence, by my feet to hold me,
 And wipe them with thy hair.
 And sweet ointment of thy grief thou hast brought thy master,
 And set before thy lord,
 From a box of flawed and broken alabaster,
 Thy broken spirit, poured.

And love-offerings, tears and perfumes, hast thou given me,
 To reach my feet, and touch ;
 Therefore thy sins, which are many, are forgiven thee,
 Because thou hast loved much.

From George Meredith, too, the tragic overthrow of France, no less than the desperate fight for Italian unity, elicited noble poetry,—poetry as much more pregnant and weighty in intellectual substance than Swinburne's, as its music is less eloquent and winged. The ode "December, 1870" stands, with the greatest of Wordsworth's War sonnets, at the head of the political poetry of the century. Like Swinburne he feels the mingling of glorious gifts and foulness in the French genius. But for him too the glory is the supreme thing : it was she who led the way in the liberation of mankind :—

O she, that made the brave appeal
 For manhood when our time was dark,
 And from our fetters drove the spark
 Which was as lightning to reveal
 New seasons, with the swifter play
 Of pulses, and benigner day ;
 She that divinely shook the dead
 From living man ; that stretched ahead
 Her resolute forefinger straight,
 And marched towards the gloomy gate
 Of Earth's Untried. . . .

But now this prophet and leader among nations is plunged in ruin,
 half through her own sins : she who in

The good name of Humanity
 Called forth the daring vision ! she,
 She likewise half corrupt of sin,
 Angel and wanton ! can it be ?
 Her star has foundered in eclipse,
 The shriek of madness on her lips :
 Shreds of her, and no more, we see.
 There is horrible convulsion, smothered din,
 As of one who in a grave-cloth struggles to be free.

Yet amid the chaos she is full of song :—

Look down where deep in blood and mire,
 Black thunder plants his feet, and ploughs
 The soil for ruin ; that is France :
 Still thrilling like a lyre.

And these words, written forty-five years ago, are yet more moving to-day, in the midst of a struggle less outwardly disastrous but far more deadly for France, and which she did far less to provoke.

How, lastly, does this international poetry of the end of the century, of Swinburne and Meredith, differ from that of Byron and Shelley, near the beginning? Partly, as we have seen, in that it is both vaster in range and more penetrating in degree of insight into the personality of nations. But even more, because it goes along with a passionate love of, and imaginative understanding for, England herself. Byron and Shelley have no note of joy in England; but Meredith and Swinburne are as firmly rooted in her soil as Shakespeare and Wordsworth; where in modern poetry is the wonder of this "enchanted isle" made more alive than in the one poet's pictures of her woodlands and breathing valleys, her Hampshire maids and farmers, or in the other poet's pictures of the North Sea surging against the embattled crags and castles of Northumberland?

And there is meaning in this latter-day union of what we commonly call national and international idealism. It means, as I have said, that the love of country itself has been lifted to a higher plane. So long, let me repeat, as national greatness is conceived in terms of power, or of territory, or even of wealth, the very conception of a community of nations can hardly emerge: other nations are rivals to be beaten, are material to be made use of, are territory to be annexed, or at best, are allies to rally to our help; their individual aims, interests, aspirations, count only as pieces, more or less formidable, in the game of the opposite side or in our own. So far and so long as these conditions prevail, nationalism and internationalism are inconsistent and incompatible: the one can exist only at the expense of the other. But the root fact of the situation,—and the ground of the deepest encouragement is this,—that in proportion as the aims of a nation cease to be fundamentally material, as soon as it seeks a well-being founded upon the spiritual enlightenment, the mental and moral health of its population, the similar aims of other nations become contributory, instead of rival forces, *their* advance an element of its own progress; all these multiform national lives becoming figures in the complex pattern of the life of Humanity; and the love of each man for his country, as Mazzini said, only the most definite expression of his love for all the nations of the world. The problem of converting

that old intense but narrow love which finds complete expression in a fighting patriotism into this not less intense love of country which is "only the most definite expression" of a love which goes beyond country,—this problem is one with that of transforming the brute-will to master man into the spiritual will to uplift him : and therefore all who are working for the spiritual uplifting of their fellow-countrymen are working for humanity, and all who are working for humanity are working for their own land. And if there is something higher than patriotism, as Edith Cavell said with the clear vision of martyrdom, in her last recorded words, so the recognition and fulfilment of that something higher is itself an act of patriotism ; and she herself will be remembered not only as one who loved England, and died for it, but as one who loved England too intensely and too nobly to hate any of her fellow-men.

BAGHDAD AND AFTER.

BY DR. ALPHONSE MINGANA.

THE fall of Baghdad has elicited so much comment in the press of the country, and is an event of such immeasurable importance, that it may not be out of place in these pages to offer some remarks by way of explanation of certain aspects of its significance.

The city is said to contain within its precincts some 100,000 to 130,000 inhabitants. These figures, which have been adopted by the *Times* (12th March, 1917), are far below the limits of truth ; the inaccuracy, however, must not be attributed to the *Times*, but to the imperfect Turkish census. Those aware of the utter deficiency of the Turkish survey of population would add at least one-third to the total given in official registers, whilst at the same time we must not overlook the fact that in Mesopotamia the male population alone is registered. A woman, and especially a married woman, is a *haram*, a sacred thing, and no one is allowed to call her by her name except a husband, a father, a brother, or a near relative, since a wife does not adopt her husband's name on marriage. It follows, therefore, that a great secrecy surrounds her Muslim name. In the census of 1911-1912, which immediately followed the so-called Constitution, the inhabitants of Mosul were given as 95,000, those of Baghdad as the double of this number, or approximately 192,000, and those of Basrah less than the half of those of Mosul, i.e. 43,000. After making every allowance for uncertainties under this heading, I should be tempted to give 130,000 to Mosul, from 200,000 to 230,000 to Baghdad, and some 40,000 to 50,000 to Basrah. These three localities are the three main cities of actual Mesopotamia. Basrah and its dependencies represent the old Chaldæan hegemony, Baghdad the Babylonian Empire, and Mosul the old Nineveh, which was the centre of the Assyrian Empire. Taken together, these cities form a complete and inseparable whole, so far as language, manners, and customs are concerned. It is inconceivable, therefore, that one power should hold under its

sway Basrah without Baghdad, or Baghdad without Mosul. In the domain of commerce Baghdad is certainly the most important of the three, although in British and Indian goods Basrah is relatively more active. Mosul generally receives its supplies of cotton goods through the ports of Syria. Apart from dates, Basrah derives from Baghdad many of the articles which she exports to Asia or Europe, and Baghdad owes to Mosul the greater part of her export trade in gall-nuts, wool, etc. At least one-third of the wheat and barley consumed in Baghdad comes from Mosul, but the former has transactions on a grand scale with Persia, with which the latter could not stand in competition.

The religious standpoint of the two towns is as follows :—

MOSUL.—Of Christians : there are about 12,000 of the East and West Syrian Church ; of Jews : about 3000 ; whilst the rest of the population are exclusively Sunni Muslims.

BAGHDAD.—Of Christians : there are about 7500, mostly of the East Syrian Church ; of Jews : about 30,000 ; whilst the rest of the population is Muslim, almost equally divided between Shiah and Sunnis.

From a Christian standpoint Mosul is far more important, containing as it does two theological seminaries, the seats of both the Chaldæan and Syrian Patriarchs, and the residence of the Apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Kurdistan.

The main features of the history of Baghdad can easily be delineated. In olden times it was its vilayet which gave birth to the first civilization in the world. The staunchest Egyptophiles admit that a part of the early Egyptian civilization is traceable to the dwellers of the lower villages of the Mesopotamian delta. It is certainly from that part that the first code in the community of mankind has emanated, and it is possibly there that the uplifting art of writing was invented. In later generations, the dealings of the Kings of Babylonia with the classical people of Yahweh have made the name of Nebuchadnezzar, and some other potentates known to the least advanced of Christian, Jewish, and Mohammedan literary circles. After experiencing different vicissitudes the country found itself with Seleucia, the capital of the Seleucids, and with Ctesiphon, that of the Arsacids or Parthians, and of the Sasanids. After the battle of Yarmuk and Qadesiya, and at the coming into power of the Omayyad Caliphs of Damascus, it looked for a while as if the centre of gravity was shifting to Syria proper. This anomaly was, however, of short duration, and the Abbasid Mansur, in laying in

762 the first foundations of the actual Baghdad, made it for centuries the first city of the world with regard to population, science, and civilization, and consequently the pivot on which the Arab Empire moved, till its overthrow by the Mongol hordes of Hulakhu in 1258. After many changes the city passed into the hands of the Turkish Sultan Murad in 1638.

The temperature of the city is rather hot in summer, and the well-to-do people make a practice of going into *sardabs* or cellars of varying depth, where they remain until 4 or 5 p.m. There large cloth-fans called *pankas*, worked to and fro by a servant, cause a current of air to pass over the perspiring faces of the inmates of the house. Towards the evening all ascend to the flat roofs of the dwelling to enjoy the night-fall breeze which almost invariably rises sometime before midnight. This source of relief is unfortunately interrupted for about a fortnight by the *shargi* gales, which make themselves felt in a strange way. The dust-storms and violent winds which accompany them render sleep on the roof almost impossible, and the household resorts again to its pleasant *sardabs* or bedrooms. A considerable number of the inhabitants betake themselves in autumn to the gardens, extending in some places to a width of many miles on both sides of the Tigris, to enjoy there the pleasure of ripening dates and oranges. A feast of *barban* dates might indeed tempt even an "All-Highest" and a "Vice-gerent of God".

Generally speaking, the climate is, however, healthy and innocuous, and many inhabitants of that most unhealthy town of Basrah, go to Baghdad in summer to avoid the shivering sensations of the fever which undermines the strength of the toughest Mesopotamian Goliath. Arab scholars have uttered a saying worthy of consideration by every traveller to, or dweller in, the cradle of humanity (in Yakut, 4, 683) : "A stranger who lives one year in Mosul, his body will show forth emblems of strength ; a stranger who lives one year in Baghdad, his intelligence will show signs of increase".

The effect of the fall of Baghdad on Islam and the East in general will be due to the following considerations :—

1. No Muslim in the world but knows the names of Maccah and Madinah, and certainly none of them can afford to ignore the name of the city of the Caliphate. The holy places contain simply a scanty memorial of the one who once led the world to the cult of Allah, but Baghdad is the personification of the power given to the Prophet of Allah. Muhammad died in Arabia, but continued to live through

the Caliphs of his house residing in the "City of Peace". The inhabitants of Upper Mesopotamia believe that Baghdad is immortal, in the same way that the Roman Catholics of the world believe Rome to be immortal. In the case of unhappy events occurring, they say "Baghdad has not been destroyed," meaning "It is not yet the end of the world". These considerations make of Baghdad a holy place of the first importance. Close to it the main Shiah shrines of Karbalah serve to unite the two branches of the Muslim world in their veneration of the capital of the Arab Empire.

2. No less important is the fact that nearly all Muslim theological, judicial, and historical books have seen the light in Baghdad and in the surrounding districts. Was it not there that the second sacred book of Islam, the repertories of the *Sunnah*, the *Sahih* of Bukhari and his imitators were written? What shall we say about the annals of Tabarī, and the *Arabian Nights*, to mention only two from hundreds? How many pilgrims are to be found in the narrow streets of the city from different parts of the Muslim world, from Morocco as well as Algeria, from India as well as Persia! The only Muslims who make no pilgrimage are the nominal Muslim Turks of Constantinople, and the only Muslims who have declared an unlawful holy war is the gang of free-thinkers and rationalists pretending to be the successors of the Prophet.

3. Without pretending that from a military point of view the fall of Baghdad would be equivalent to a rout of the enemy in the plains of Flanders, it is, however, to be considered as of great importance. We have often forgotten that Turkey had occupied the best part of Persia, and might at any time by a single stroke have endangered from the rear the positions of the Russian army in Armenia and northern Persia. This danger has been removed. The Turkish troops, deprived of their base at Baghdad, will be obliged to fall back from Kermanshah on Suleimaniya or Karkuk, with their main base in Mosul, but this is a route of a very tortuous and difficult character.

Of one thing we may be quite certain, the whispering galleries of the Near East will re-echo with the news of the fall of Baghdad in an even more intensified form than the elect nation of the prophets echoed it in the days of yore. Many soothsayers will repeat in a mysterious and mystical language, "Babylon is fallen, Babylon is fallen". The effect of this semi-magical formula cannot fail to be considerable on the Muslim mind, and on the Arabs in general.

STEPS TOWARDS THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

In the following pages we print the fifth list of contributions to the new library for the exiled University of Louvain, and we take this opportunity of renewing our thanks to the respective donors for their welcome response to our appeal.

This list does not by any means complete the record of gifts to date, but such has been the pressure upon our space in the present issue that we have been compelled to hold over a further list, of at least equal length, for publication in our next number.

In our last appeal we ventured to suggest the titles of a number of important works of reference, which are considered to be indispensable to the efficiency of every reference and research library such as the one we have in contemplation, in the belief that there were amongst our readers and their circle of friends, many who would gladly participate in this scheme of replacement did they know what works would be acceptable. The appeal met with an immediate response, and has resulted in the following gifts: From the Rev. Arthur Dixon a set of the "Oxford English Dictionary"; from Mr. Arthur Sykes a copy of Dr. Wright's "English Dialect Dictionary" together with a number of classical texts; and from yet another source a set of the "Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis" of Du Cange. The more formal and detailed record of these and other gifts received since the last appeal was made will appear in our next number.

The other works suggested in the list referred to may still be regarded as "desiderata".

Special reference should be made to a most welcome contribution from Messrs. King & Company, the Parliamentary Publishers and Booksellers, of Westminster, who generously invited the writer to make an unrestricted selection from the works announced in their current catalogue. As a result the collection has been enriched by the addition of 179 volumes, which in themselves constitute a library of sociological literature of considerable interest and importance.

May we hope that other publishers will follow the example of

Messrs. King & Company, and lend us a helping hand, either by giving us similar permission to mark their catalogues, or by submitting lists of works which they are willing to contribute ?

On several occasions in these pages we have expressed the hope that the agencies through which this reconstruction is to be effected should be as widely representative as possible, and we are glad to find that our hope has not been entertained in vain. Already offers of assistance have reached us from all classes of the community, not only in this country, but from Scotland, Ireland, Wales, India, Canada, South Africa, the West Indies, the United States, France, Italy, Switzerland, Spain, and Portugal, and we are encouraged to anticipate a still more active response, as the result of the wider appeal which is being made by the Executive of the International Committee, of which the Lord Muir Mackenzie is Chairman, with the Librarian of the House of Lords (Mr. Hugh Butler) as Honorary Secretary.

In renewing and emphasizing our appeal, we venture to express the further hope that every university, every college, every library, every learned society, and every publisher, to mention only the principal agencies whose support we are anxious to enlist, will feel it not only a privilege to co-operate, but that an obligation rests upon them to assist in making this reconstruction of the devastated library adequate in every respect to meet the requirements of the case.

We owe more to the great little nation of Belgium than we can ever repay, and it is fitting that we should seize the opportunity of repaying a portion of our debts, by making good, as far as in us lies, one of the many crimes against humanity of which the German army has been guilty. In so doing we shall give tangible proof to our noble Allies, of the high and affectionate regard in which we hold them, and honour them, for their incomparable bravery, and for the heroic sacrifices which they made in the honourable determination to remain true to their pledges, by indignantly refusing to listen to Germany's infamous proposals.

In order to obviate any needless duplication of gifts, the librarian would regard it as a favour if those who may wish to participate in this scheme would, in the first instance, send to him a list of the works which they are willing to contribute, so that the register may be examined with a view of ascertaining whether any of the titles already figure therein.

(Continued from p. 277.)

SIR WILLIAM OSLER, Bart., M.D., F.R.S., F.R.C.P., etc., Regius Professor of Medicine, Oxford.

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- 160 LOGIC.
- 170 ETHICS.
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ROBERTS (Francis) *Clavis Bibliorum*. The key of the Bible, unlocking the richest treasury of the holy scriptures. Whereby the 1 order, 2 names, 3 times, 4 penmen, 5 occasion, 6 scope, and 7 principall parts, containing the subject-matter of every book of Old and New Testament, are familiarly and briefly opened: for the help of the weakest capacity in the understanding of the whole Bible. . . . [With commendatory epistle by E. Calamy.] [With folding-table.] *London*, 1648. 8vo, pp. 336. R 39967

SIMON (Richard) *Richardi Simonii . . . historia critica commentatorum præcipuorum V. & N.T.* Das ist: Eine curieuse Erzählung und Beurtheilung derer berühmtesten Ausleger des A. und N.T. . . . Aus denen . . . frantzösischen Operibus in diesen kurtzen Begriff zusammen gezogen / in die deutsche Sprache übersetzt . . . von Leonhard Christoph Rühlen / nebst einer beygefüigten Vorrede. . . . Jacob Friderich Reimmanns / darin die bisher noch von niemand versuchte Historie der Theologiæ exegeticæ bey denen luden / Christen / Mahumedanern und Heyden . . . entworfen und die Materialia und Formalia dieser Simonianischen Schrift . . . untersucht und geprüft werden. [With frontispiece.] *Gosslar*, 1713. 8vo, pp. 115, 558. R 40462

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STRACHAN (Robert Harvey) The individuality of Saint Paul. [Humanism of the Bible.] *London*, [1916]. 8vo, pp. 303. R 40591

230 RELIGION : DOCTRINAL THEOLOGY.

BURGO (Joannes de) *Pupilla oculi De septem Sacramentorū administratione : de decem Preceptis decalogi : ceterisq; ecclesiasticorū (que rite institutum sacerdotem haud quāq; ignorare decet) officijs : . . . presbyteris oib; / sacreq; militie studiosis maiorē in modū necessaria. Adiectis tabula Capituloꝝ / atq; Indice alphabetario omnium in hoc opusculo contentorum . . . 1516.* ([Colophon:] *Tabule cum opusculo / Pupilla oculi nūcupato / finis : sumptib; huidorū Ioannis Knoblouchi ⁊ Pauli Götz civiū ⁊ bibliopolarū Argeñ. p̃lo Ioannis Schotti urbis incole. sub Annū dñi M.D.xvij. Kal' Martij.*) 4to, ff. clxx, [15].

* * Gothic letter.

R 39980

DU MOULIN (Pierre) *the Elder. The Waters of Siloe. To Qvench the Fire of PvrATORY and to droune the traditions, Limboes, mans satisfactions and all Popish Indulgences, against the reasons and allegations of a Portugall Frier of the order of St. Frances [i.e. J. Suares], supported by three treatises. The one written by the same Franciscan and entituled The fierie torrent, &c. The other two by two Doctors of Sorbon. The one intituled The burning furnasse [by P. V. Palma Cayet.] The other The fire of Helie [by A. Duval.] . . . Faithfully translated out of French by I. B. Printed at Oxford [by Joseph Barnes] for Iohn Barnes dwelling neere Holborne Conduit. 1612. 8vo, pp. [34], 406.* R 40617

FORSYTH (Peter Taylor) *The Christian ethic of war. . . . London, 1916. 8vo, pp. x, 196.* R 40998

GARRIGUET (L.) *La Vierge Marie : sa prédestination—sa dignité—ses privilèges son rôle ses vertus—ses mérites—sa gloire—son intercession—son culte. Paris, 1916. 8vo, pp. 460.* R 40325

GARVIE (Alfred Ernest) *The Christian certainty amid the modern perplexity : essays, constructive and critical, towards the solution of some current theological problems. London, 1910. 8vo, pp. xvi, 480.* R 40990

RASHDALL (Hastings) *Conscience and Christ : six lectures on Christian ethics. [Haskell Lectures, 1913.] London, [1916]. 8vo, pp. xx, 313.* R 40397

SABUNDE (Raymundus de) *La Theologie Natvrelle De Raymond Sebon. Traduite en François par . . . Michel, Seigneur de Montaigne . . . Derniere Edition reueuë & corrigee. [Printer's device beneath title.] A Roven, Chez Romain De Beauvais, pres le grand portail nostre Dame. 1603. 8vo, pp. [16], 891, [49].* R 40460

SCHEEBEN (Matthias Joseph) *A manual of Catholic theology based on Scheeben's "Dogmatik". By Joseph Wilhelm . . . and Thomas B. Scannell . . . With a preface by Cardinal Manning. London, 1908-09. 2 vols. 8vo.* R 40926

1. The sources of theological knowledge, God, creation, and the supernatural order. Fourth edition, revised.—1909.

2. The fall. Redemption. Grace. The church and the sacraments. The last things. Third edition, revised.—1908.

230 RELIGION: DOCTRINAL THEOLOGY.

VOLKMAR (Gustav) *Jesus Nazarenus und die erste christliche Zeit, mit den beiden ersten Erzählern* [i.e. Saint Mark and F. Josephus]. *Zurich*, 1882. 8vo, pp. ix, 403. R 40434

WILSON (Thomas) *Bishop of Sodor and Man*. The knowledge and practice of Christianity made easy to the meanest capacities; or, an essay towards an instruction for the Indians; which will likewise be of use to all such who are called Christians, but have not well considered the meaning of the religion they profess. In twenty dialogues. Together with directions and prayers. . . . The ninth edition. *London*, 1759. 8vo, pp. iv, xv, 300. R 39964

240 RELIGION: DEVOTIONAL.

BRATHWAIT (Richard) *Lignum vitæ*. Libellvs in quatuor partes distinctus: et ad utilitatem cujusque animæ in altiore vitæ perfectionem suspirantis, nuperrime editus. . . . *Londini*, 1658. 8vo, pp. 679. R 41075

* * * There is also an engraved title page.

BUNYAN (John) *Le pèlerinage du Chrétien à la cité céleste, décrit sous la similitude d'un songe*. Nouvelle édition. *Paris*, 1834. 8vo, pp. 235. R 39962

CAUSES. The causes of the decay of Christian piety. Or an impartial survey of the ruines of Christian religion, undermin'd by unchristian practice. Written by the author of *The whole duty of man*. [With a letter to the publisher subscribed "H.E."] [With plates.] *London*, 1683. 8vo, pp. 449. R 39954

GRAY (Andrew) *Directions and instigations to the duty of prayer: how, and why the heart is to be kept with diligence*. . . . Being the sum and substance of nine sermons, heretofore printed. . . . The second impression, newly corrected and amended. . . . [Edinburgh], 1679. 12mo, pp. 164. R 41064

KEACH (Benjamin) *War with the devil: or, the young man's conflict with the powers of darkness*. In a dialogue. Discovering the corruption and vanity of youth; the horrible nature of sin, and deplorable condition of fallen man: also a definition, power, and rule of conscience, and the nature of true conversion. To which is added an appendix, containing a dialogue between an old apostate, and a young professor. . . . The twenty-second edition. . . . [In verse.] [With illustrations.] *London*, 1776. 8vo, pp. 156. R 40186

NORRIS (John) *A collection of miscellanies: consisting of poems, essays, discourses, and letters, occasionally written*. . . . *Oxford*, 1687. 8vo, pp. 467. R 39956

— The sixth edition. *London*, 1717. 12mo, pp. 319. R 32947

— The eighth edition. *London*, 1723. 8vo, pp. 366. R 39958

240 RELIGION: DEVOTIONAL.

RUYSBROECK (Jan van) John of Ruysbroeck. The adornment of the spiritual marriage. The sparkling stone. The book of supreme truth. Translated from the Flemish by C. A. Wynschenk Dom. Edited with an introduction and notes by Evelyn Underhill. *London*, 1916. 8vo, pp. xxxii, 259. R 40987

SATURDAY EVENING. Saturday evening. By the author of *Natural history of enthusiasm* [i.e. Isaac Taylor]. . . . *London*, 1832. 8vo, pp. viii, 491. R 40114

SCHOOL. The school of the heart: or, the heart of itself gone away from God, brought back again to Him, and instructed by Him. In forty-seven emblems. By the author of the *Synagogue*. . . . [i.e. C. Harvey. Adapted from B. van Haeften's "*Schola Cordis*"]. Whereunto is added, the learning of the heart, by the same hand. [In verse.] [With frontispiece.] *London*, 1778. 8vo, pp. 154. R 40281

SCOTT (John) The Christian life, from its beginning, to its consummation in glory; together, with the several means and instruments of Christianity conducing thereunto; with directions for private devotion, and forms of prayer fitted to the several states of Christians. . . . The third edition. . . . [With frontispiece.] *London*, 1684. 8vo, pp. 436. R 39972

WHOLE DUTY. The new whole duty of man, containing the faith as well as practice of a Christian; made easy for the practice of the present age, as the old Whole duty of man was design'd for those unhappy times in which it was written; and supplying the articles of the Christian faith, which are wanting in that book. . . . With devotions proper for several occasions. The eleventh edition. . . . [With frontispiece.] *London*, [c. 1750]. 8vo, pp. x, 546. R 39974

250 RELIGION: HOMILETICS.

GRAY (Andrew) The mystery of faith opened up: or, some sermons concerning faith, two whereof were not formerly printed. Wherein the nature, excellency, and usefulness of that noble grace is much cleared, and the practice thereof most powerfully pressed. Whereunto are added other three sermons, two concerning the great salvation, one of these not formerly printed, and a third concerning death. . . . All these sermons being now carefully revised, and much corrected. . . . [Edited by R. Trail and J. Sterling.] *Edinburgh*, 1678. 12mo, pp. 1-166 [error for 168]. R 41063

HICKMAN (Charles) *Bishop of Derry*. Fourteen sermons preach'd, at St. James's Church in Westminster. *London*, 1700. 8vo, pp. 432. R 39969

MAILLARD (Olivier) Diuini eloquij p̄conis. . . . Oliuerij Maillardi . . . Sermones dominicales: vna cū aliquibus alijs sermonibus valde vtilibus. [Printer's device beneath title.] ([Colophon:] Diuini verbi p̄conis. . . . Oliuerij Maillardi. . . . Sermones dñicales finiunt nuperrime imp̄sis Iohānis petit parisiē librarij iurati. Anno millesimo quingentesimosexto). < *Paris*: J. Petit, 1506. > 8vo, ff. 108, [2]. R 40481

250 RELIGION: HOMILETICS.

MAILLARD (Olivier) Opus quadragesimale . . . Oliuerij Maillardi . . . quod quidem in ciuitate Nānetē . fuit p eundem publice declaratum : ac nup Parisius impressum. [Printer's device beneath title.] ([Colophon:] ¶ Sermonum quadragesimaliuꝝ Maillardi nuper impēsis Iohannis parui Parisiensis bibliopole impressioni traditorum. Finis.) <Paris: J. Petit> [1513]. 8vo, ff. 102, [2]. R 40480

* * Black letter.

— ¶ Summariū quoddā sermonum de Sanctis per totū anni circulū simul et de cōi sc̄tōrū : et ꝑ defunctis : hactenus nusq̄ impressorū . . . Oliuerii maillardi. . . . Anno. m. ccccc. xvi exactissime reuisum ꝛ impressum. [Printer's device beneath title.] *Venūdantur in vico sancti Iacobi a Ioāne petit sub intersignio Lilii* ([Colophon:] . . . *Impensis . . . Iohānis petit Parisiensis bibliopole / feliciter expliciunt.* Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo decimo sexto. Die v̄o vigesimaprima Februarij.) 8vo, ff. cli. R 40482

* * Black letter.

PEPIN (Gulielmus) ¶ Expositio Euāgeliorū Quadragesimalium . . . [Printer's device beneath title.] ¶ *Ex florentissima Luthetie / matre studiorum omnium fecundissima.* Anno ab incarnato Salvatore / sexqui. Millesimo. xxix. Octaua Ianuarij. 8vo, ff. [12], ccclii. R 40459

— ¶ Sermones quadragesimales Fratris Guillelmi Pepin nouo ordie ab ipso authore digesti / decretales scilicet casibus (qui hactenus separati fuerant) suis quibusq̄ euāgelij coaptatis. [Printer's device beneath title.] ¶ *Ex florentissima Luthetie / matre studiorū omnium fecūdissima.* Anno ab incarnato saluatore : sexqui. Millesimo. xxix. Mense Octobris. 8vo, ff. [8], cxl. R 40458

SPECULUM. Magnvm Specvlvm Exemplorvm Ex Plvsq̄vam Sexaginta Avtoribvs Pietate, Doctrina Et Antiquitate Venerandis, Variisque Historiis, tractatibus & libellis excerptum Ab Anonymo quodam, qui circiter annum Domini 1480. vixisse deprehenditur. Opus ab innumeris mendis, & fastidiosis breuiationibus vindicatum, varijs notis, Autorumq; citationibus illustratum. Per Qvendam Patrem E Societate Iesv [i.e. J. Major], Ac Demvm Per Evndem Novorvm Exemplorum appendice locupletatum. Cum Indice locorum communium vtilissimo. [Printer's device beneath title.] *Dvaci, Ex officina Baltazaris Belleri Typographi iurati, sub Circino aureo.* An.M.DC.III. 4to, pp. [88], 724, 75, [1]. R 39981

260 RELIGION: CHURCH INSTITUTIONS AND WORK.

BUCER (Martin) The mynd and exposition of that excellent learned man Martyn Bucer / vpon these wordes of S. Mathew : Woo be to the wordle bycause of offences. Math xviij. Faythfully translated into Englishe, by a faythfull brother, with certayne obiections ꝛ answeres to the same. . . . ([Pt. 2, sig. A. l recto caption:] ¶ To the Reader. [Text:] To my faythfull Brethren, we geve thankes to God for your constancie and vpryght delynge in this gret controuersie now raysyd by

260 RELIGION: CHURCH INSTITUTIONS AND WORK.

packynge of enemyes about the wearinge of popish apparell. . . .—[Sig. B. 3 recto:] ¶ An answer to a question, that was mouyd, why the godly men wold not weare a surples.) ¶ *Printed at Emden [by E. van der Erve ?] 1566. 2 pts. in 1 vol. 8vo. R 40244*

BULLINGER (Heinrich) The iudgement of the Reuerend Father Master Henry Bullinger / Pastor of the church of Zurick, in certeyne matters of religion, beinge in controuersy in many countreys, euen wher as the Gospel is taught . . . 1566. [Translated from the Latin.] [*Emden ? E. van der Erve ? 1566.] 8vo, ff. [24]. R 40245*

CURIOUS CHURCH CUSTOMS. Curious church customs, and cognate subjects. Edited by William Andrews. . . . [With frontispiece.] *Hull, 1895. 8vo, pp. 274. R 40560*

CURIOUS CHURCH GLEANINGS. Curious church gleanings. Edited by William Andrews. . . . [With illustrations.] *Hull, 1896. 8vo, pp. 280. R 40559*

DÉRODON (David) The funeral of the mass: or, the mass dead and buried, without hope of resurrection. [By D. Dérodon.] Translated out of French. The third edition. *Dublin, 1685. 8vo. R 41065*

. Imperfect. Wanting 3 leaves of preliminary matter and pp. 115-122.

— The funeral of the mass: or, the mass dead and buried, without hope of resurrection. Translated out of French [by S. A.]. The seventh edition, corrected. *London, 1685. 8vo, pp. 149. R 21412*

DRAKE (Maurice) and (Wilfred) Saints and their emblems. . . . Illustrated by . . . plates from photographs and drawings by W. Drake. With a foreword by Aymer Vallance. *London, 1916. Fol., pp. xiii, 235. R 40563*

ENGLAND. The holy-days. Or the feasts and fasts. As they are observed in the Church of England, explained; and the reasons why they are yearly celebrated. . . . *London, 1716. 8vo, pp. 40. R 39952*

GREAT DUTY. The great duty of frequenting the Christian sacrifice, and the nature of the preparation required, with suitable devotions: partly collected from the ancient liturgies. To which is prefixed; instructions for confirmation. . . . The ninth edition. [By R. Nelson.] *London, 1727. 12mo, pp. x, 202. R 39966*

HENRY BRADSHAW SOCIETY. Founded . . . for the editing of rare liturgical texts. . . . [With facsimiles.] *London, 1915. 8vo. In progress. R6097*

49. The Gregorian sacramentary under Charles the Great. Edited from three MSS. of the ninth century by H. A. Wilson. . . .—1915.

50. Cranmer (T.) *Archbishop of Canterbury*. Cranmer's liturgical projects. Edited from British Museum MS. Royal, 7, B. IV., with introduction, appendix, notes, and indices by J. W. Legg.—1915.

260 RELIGION: CHURCH INSTITUTIONS AND WORK.

IKONOGRAPHIE. *Ikonographie der Heiligen. Ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte.* [By J. von Radowitz.] *Berlin*, 1834. 8vo, pp. x, 102.
R 39931

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW. *The Indian evangelical review; a quarterly journal of missionary thought and effort. Volume II (-XI). Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, [1874-] 1875-[85].* 10 vols. 8vo.
R 39030

2-6. Edited by W. C. Cook.—[1874-] 1875-79.

7-11. Edited by . . . K. S. Macdonald. . . .—1880-[85].

LITURGIES. *The book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the Church of England; together with the psalter or psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches. (Leabhar na nornaightheadh ccomhchoitchionn. . . .) London, (1712).* 8vo.
R 40484

— *The book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the Church of England: together with the psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches. [With plates.] London, 1716.* 8vo.
R 39987.1

— *The book of common prayer and administration of the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the church according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland; together with the Psalter or Psalms of David. Fourth edition. [In Sinhalese.] Colombo, 1860.* 2 pts. in 1 vol. 8vo.
R 39238

— *The Church of England's man's private devotions. Being a collection of prayers out of the common-prayer-book, for morning, noon, and evening, and other special occasions. By the author of the Week's preparation to the sacrament. London, 1714.* 8vo, pp. 58. R 39951

— *Three primers put forth in the reign of Henry VIII. viz. I. A goodly prymer, 1535. II. The manual of prayers or the prymer in English, 1539. III. King Henry's primer, 1545. [Edited by E. Burton.] Second edition. Oxford, 1848.* 8vo, pp. iv, 526.
R 38392

— [Sig. A. 1 recto:] [Ornament above caption]. [Caption:] *The Confession of Faith, used in the English Congregation at Geneva; Received and approved by the Church of Scotland. [Edinburgh? c. 1638.]* 4to, pp. 63.
R 41067

* * Title-page wanting. The title is taken from the caption.

— *The prymer, or prayer-book of the lay people in the middle ages in English dating about 1400 A.D. Edited, with introduction and notes from the manuscript, G. 24, in St. John's College, Cambridge, by W. Littlehales. . . . [With facsimile.] London, 1891-92.* 2 vols. 8vo.
R 40417

260 RELIGION: CHURCH INSTITUTIONS AND WORK.

LITURGIES. A collection of hymns for the use of the people called Methodists. By . . . John Wesley. . . . With a supplement. [With portrait.] *London*, 1832. 24mo, pp. 736. R 39988

— [Quignon recension of the Roman breviary.] ([Printer's device above colophon.] [Colophon:] . . . ¶ *Antverpiæ Apud Michaelém Hillenium, in Rapo. Anno Domini M.D.XLII.*) 8vo, ff. [11], 355, [1]. R 40546

* * The title leaf and four other leaves (sig. 1-4-8) are wanting.

— The liturgy and ritual of the Celtic Church. By Frederick Edward Warren. [With facsimile.] *Oxford*, 1881. 8vo, pp. xix, 291. R 40103

— The Ethiopic liturgy; its sources, development, and present form [The Ethiopic liturgy . . . a translation of Mercer 3. . . . The Ethiopic text of Mercer 3.] By . . . Samuel A. B. Mercer. . . . [The Hale Lectures, 1914-15.] *Milwaukee*, 1915. 8vo, pp. xvi, 487. R 39760

REASONABLE COMMUNICANT. The reasonable communicant: or, an explanation of the doctrine of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in all its parts, from the Communion service. In a discourse between a minister and one of his parishioners. The sixth edition, corrected by the author. *London*, 1715. 12mo, pp. 104. R 39963

SPIRITUAL DESPOTISM. Spiritual despotism. By the author of *Natural history of enthusiasm*, [i.e. I. Taylor]. . . . *London*, 1835. 8vo, pp. viii, 500. R 40116

WHEATLY (Charles) A rational illustration of the Book of common prayer of the Church of England. Wherein liturgies in general are proved lawful and necessary, and an historical account is given of our own. . . . The whole being the substance of every thing liturgical in Bishop Sparrow, . . . L'Estrange, . . . Comber, . . . Nichols, and all former ritualists, . . . collected and reduced into one continued and regular method, and interspersed all along with new observations. . . . Sixth edition. . . . [With frontispiece.] *London*, 1729. 8vo, pp. xxvi, 557. R 39968

NEW MODEL. New model of Christian missions to popish, Mahometan, & pagan nations explained, in four letters to a friend, by the author of "*Natural history of enthusiasm*" [i.e. Isaac Taylor]. *London*, 1829. 8vo, pp. 124. R 40112

270 RELIGION: RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

BONNARD (G.) *La controverse de Martin Marprelate 1588-1590. Episode de l'histoire littéraire du puritanisme sous Elizabeth.* *Genève*, 1916. 8vo, pp. xv, 237. R 40638

270 RELIGION: RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

BRÉMOND (Henri) *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des guerres de religion jusqu'à nos jours.* [With plates.] *Paris*, 1916. 1 vol. 8vo. R 40231

COUNCILS. *Concilia Generalia, Et Provincialia, Qvotqvot Repiriri Potvervnt. Item Epistolæ Decretales Et Romanor. Pontific. Vitæ, Omnia Studio, Et Indvstria . . . Severini Binii . . . Recognita, Aucta, Notis Illustrata, et Historica Methodo disposita. Colonia Agrippina. Apud Ioan. Gymnic. et Anton. Hierat. Anno M. DC. VI. . . .* 4 vols. in 5. Fol. R 40387

— *Συνοδικον*, sive pandectæ canonum ss. apostolorum, et conciliorum ab ecclesia Græca receptorum; nec non canonicarum ss. patrum epistolarum: una cum scholiis antiquorum [i.e. T. Balsamon and J. Zonaras] singulis eorum annexis, et scriptis aliis huc spectantibus; quorum plurima e Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ aliarumque mss. codicibus nunc primum edita: reliqua cum iisdem mss. summa fide & diligentia collata. Totum opus . . . Guilielmus Beveregius . . . recensuit, prolegomenis munivit, & annotationibus auxit. [Greek and Latin.] *Oxonii*, 1672. 2 vols. Fol. R 40883

CURZON (Robert) *Baron de la Zouche.* *Visits to monasteries in the Levant.* . . . With an introduction by D. G. Hogarth. [With illustrations.] *London*, 1916. 8vo, pp. xvi, 423. R 41089

ELY, *Diocese of.* *Ely episcopal records.* A calendar and concise view of the episcopal records preserved in the Muniment Room of the Palace at Ely. Compiled . . . by A. Gibbons. . . . *Lincoln, printed for private circulation*, 1891. 8vo, pp. xiv, 558. R 39340

ENGLAND. The seconde parte of a register: being a calendar of manuscripts under that title intended for publication by the Puritans about 1593, and now in Dr. Williams's Library, London. Edited by Albert Peel. . . . With a preface by C. H. Firth. . . . *Cambridge*, 1915. 2 vols. 8vo. R 39798

FITZ-HERBERT (Nicolas) Nicolai Fizerberti De Antiquitate & Continuatione Catholicæ Religionis in Anglia, & De Alani Cardinalis Vita Libellvs. Ad Sanctissimum D. N. Pavlvn Qvintvm Pontificem Maximvm. [Printer's device beneath title.] *Romæ, Apud Guillelmum Facciotum.* M. DC. VIII. . . . 8vo, pp. [8], 100, [2]. R 18033

FROMMENT (Antoine) *Les actes et gestes merveilleux de la cité de Geneve; nouvellement convertie à l'evangille, faictz du temps de leur reformation, et comment ils l'ont receue, redigez par escript en forme de chroniques, annales ou hystoyres, commençant l'an MDXXXII. Par A. Fromment.* (Extraits contenant tout ce qu'il y a d'important dans les Registres publics de Geneve, par Jacques Flournois. Dès l'an 1532 à 1536.) Mis en lumiere par Gustave Revilliod. [With plates.] *A Geneve*, 1854. 8vo, pp. xxxi, 249, ccix. R 40495

270 RELIGION: RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

HEFELE (Carl Joseph von) *Bishop of Rottenburg*. Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux. . . . Nouvelle traduction française faite sur la deuxième édition allemande, corrigée et augmentée de notes critiques et bibliographiques par. . . . H. Leclercq. . . . Tome VII. première partie. *Paris*, 1916. 8vo. *In progress*. R 39771

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HUGH, [of Avalon], *Saint, Bishop of Lincoln*. The life of Saint Hugh of Lincoln. Translated from the French Carthusian life and edited with . . . additions by Herbert Thurston. . . . [With portrait.] [Quarterly Series. 99.] *London*, 1898. 8vo, pp. xxvi, 650. R 40543

HULL (Eleanor) Early Christian Ireland. [Epochs of Irish History, 2.] *London*, 1905. 8vo, pp. vi, 283. R 40474

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